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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JUNE 16, 1904.

The Week.

Attorney-General Knox as Quay's successor in the Senate is an immense step upwards, mentally and morally. Everybody must agree to that. It is so long since Pennsylvania has had anything but voiceless money-bags and inarticulate bosses for Senators that she will, at first, scarcely know what to think of a man who can frame a policy and defend it. Mr. Knox has distinctly impressed the country with his ability, of the non-explosive kind; and his legal reputation has been much heightened by his conduct of the Trust prosecutions. But just here the political aspect of his appointment insinuates itself. Is he, in effect, a sop thrown to Cerberus by the President? Is the Attorney-General to stand as another instance of the rule that the surest road to employment by the Trusts is to attack them efficiently? For there can be no doubt, Pennsylvania politics being the thing we know, that large corporate interests dictated Mr. Knox's appointment. Are they afraid of him in the Cabinet? Would they like to estop a possible action against the coal-carrying railroads, into whose alleged illegal combination the Interstate Commerce Commission is now inquiring? Such queries will arise.

Attorney-General Knox doubtless speaks by the card when he telegraphs to Omaha that he cannot prosecute the indicted "cattle kings" because of lack of available funds. It would be just like the unscrupulous Democrats, however, to see unworthy motives where there is really nothing but the pinch of poverty. No funds? What about the large unexpended balance of the special fund which Congress voted to bring all the Trusts low? There is a certain deadly frankness about the explanation given by "Republican politicians" in Nebraska. They say that if the prosecution had been pressed and the hated "kings" cleared, the party would have lost at least two Congressmen. If, on the other hand, a conviction had been secured, even the irrigation laws would not have prevented the campaign fund from looking parched. Hence the practical wisdom of putting the cases over to the next term of court—otherwise known as the next term of the President. This is certainly not to "run amuck." It is not even, if the facts are as stated, to walk quietly down the street and do one's duty.

Judge George Gray's dignified abstention from the strife of Presidential candidates did not prevent Delaware from instructing for him last week. In spite of his personal request that his name be not brought forward, the convention presented it. He is therefore a Presidential possibility—a remote one, as the case stands, but yet not to be left out of the account. That he would be a fit nominee, nobody questions. In age, attainments, experience, habit of mind, and public service, he is Presidential timber. It is no secret that he would be first choice of many Cleveland men. The ex-President plainly intimated the other day that Gray would be his own preference. We understand that it was largely due to the insistence of friends of Cleveland that the Delaware Convention decided to instruct for Judge Gray. That insures putting him in nomination at St. Louis, and having him in reserve in case of a deadlock. But, of course, all this is highly contingent. Judge Gray is too seasoned in Democratic politics not to know the immense handicap of coming from a small State. He is also, we doubt not, fully aware of the strong drift of the South to Parker, as the candidate of the State with most electoral votes. Unless something now unforeseen occurs to check that, the probability of Judge Gray's figuring seriously in the balloting must be considered very slight.

Committeeman Payne has gone West, declaring that there is no use in trying to patch up Republican differences in Wisconsin. Neither faction has been willing to compromise on a half vote in the National Convention, and they are an incorrigible lot generally. Mr. Payne adds that the National Committee can scarcely be expected to go into the legal questions involved, since the whole matter has already been taken into the courts. Yet this hardly disposes of the difficulty. Somebody from Wisconsin will have to be seated in the National Convention, and the decision of the courts is not likely to be made until months after that convention has adjourned. There may be found a way of evading a square decision, with its unavoidable offence to one side or the other; but the attitude of the Wisconsin Republican press since the split shows how jealously the leaders are likely to resent the least partiality shown to their opponents by the authorities of the national party. It is one of the interesting possibilities of the situation that the convention may decide one way and the courts another. Should this happen, besides increasing the bitterness of factions already prepared for extreme measures, the campaign will reveal the relative influence on the every-day voter of a judicial decision based on strict law and precedent and a pronouncement by the party Supreme Court.

Mr. John A. Kasson has emerged from retirement long enough to express his views on the Iowa platform. He regrets that "meaningless platitudes" have been substituted for the plain talk on the tariff to which the farmers used to be treated. He tells the latter that not one politician in a thousand understands the conditions of our foreign trade. They do not know that if the market for our surplus products—wheat and corn, for instance—were lost to us, the effect on the home industries would be just as bad as if an equal amount of foreign goods were imported. It is a surplus on the home market, no matter what its cause, that makes prices sag. Foreign outlets are needed, but Mr. Kasson sees the absurdity of trying to create them by "reciprocity in non-competitive products only." There is not enough business of that kind in sight "to maintain a store at a Kentucky crossroads village." Plainly, Mr. Kasson is still feeling sore from the treatment he received at the hands of the Senate. Dingley, he says, knew nothing of "non-competitive" reciprocity. He offered the Canadians in the British-American Commission larger or smaller reductions, and in some cases even free trade. And President McKinley construed the reciprocity provision in the Dingley law in the same spirit: he sent Mr. Kasson abroad to negotiate treaties, and never thought of telling him that they must be of the "non-competitive" kind. But the Senate would have none of them. They were ingloriously pigeon-holed, and Mr. Kasson made the discovery that he was about the only person that had taken reciprocity as anything but a joke.

Gov. Yates of Illinois "believes that all those upon the payrolls should be as active in his behalf as were scores of others who had not benefited under the Administration." This is the reason, as stated in Chicago newspapers, for the summary removal of twenty-six State employees by the defeated candidate for renomination. The men removed, fifteen of whom were delegates to the late State Convention, are those who failed to support the final Yates-Deneen combination which gave the nomination for Governor to the young Chicago attorney, and was supposed to mean that Yates would get Senator Cullom's place three years hence. That the Governor has the latter in mind is indicated by the utterance of a Chicago State employee who has fallen under suspicion of disloyalty. "I had my eyes

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opened," he said, "and propose to lead a different life. . . . I will show Gov. Yates that I am his friend and can be loyal to him. How? Why, by supporting him for United States Senator to succeed Shelby M. Cullom. Two years hence I shall be a candidate for the Legislature, and, if elected, the Governor will get my vote for Senator." Yates will hold office until the end of the year, and it will be instructive to watch his tinkering of that machine which, while not strong enough to keep him in the Governor's chair, is depended upon to carry him to the Senate.

Last week's *Outlook* printed the appeal which the Philippine Independence Commission addresses to both political parties, urging that a promise of independence be made to the Filipinos by both national conventions. It is a document drawn with moderation yet force, and is signed by weighty names. Its position is sustained, moreover, by hundreds of leaders in the college world, as well as by eminent clergymen, by business men, judges, philanthropists. It is safe to say that a petition so influentially endorsed was never presented to a political party in this country. It is a select body of learning, piety, and sound and patriotic judgment, appealing to political managers. Will the Republicans hear or forbear? The *Outlook* advises them to turn their backs on the intelligence of the nation. Its arguments are that national independence is not necessarily desirable, and that the Filipinos do not really want it, though they say they do. It seems that the misguided creatures have not grasped the great truth that "the will of a community is something more than the individual wills of *all its members*." Hence they failed to perceive that the way to find out what they desire is, not to take a vote, but to ask an editor in New York.

Secretary Taft's remarks to the Philippine commissioners on Friday show just where the President stands as regards Filipino independence. Mr. Roosevelt has for nearly three years been traversing two hemispheres in tight shoes, which, however, he expects to discard after next November. His heart has always been in the right place, and he has only been waiting "to be absolved by the expiration of his present term from the obligations with regard to the policy of the late President, in order to bring about at least the partial independence of the Filipinos." This assertion ought to do away with any suspicion that might otherwise arise regarding the tone now being adopted by the Administration towards our subjects in the Far East. The most cynical cannot say now that its eyes have been opened by the Philippine Independence Committee's petition, with its rapidly increasing signatures. Pressure of no sort was required to make Secretary Taft hint to the Philippine commissioners that if President Roosevelt is elected this fall, the islanders may soon enjoy home rule. In view of this announcement, Secretary Taft will probably no longer regret to have independence openly talked about in the islands.

Roosevelt is not, in the opinion of Mr. James Bryce, the greatest President since Washington. In the telegraphed account of the dinner to Seth Low in London, June 2, Mr. Bryce, who proposed the toast, "The President," was reported as guilty of the extravagant compliment of setting Mr. Roosevelt next to the Father of his Country. But none of the London papers which we have received so report the utterance. There are two printed versions, essentially the same: "One of the most striking personalities who had ever sat in the chair of George Washington," and "one of the most striking and brilliant personages who ever sat in the chair of George Washington." Now, in using the word "striking," Mr. Bryce shows that "discriminating knowledge" for which he is distinguished, since no adjective could more fitly describe Mr. Roosevelt. Striking he is, and always has been. He strikes when the iron is hot; he sometimes strikes before it gets hot; and he keeps on striking after it has grown cold.

"Brutal wrong-doing or an impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society may finally require intervention"—when President Roosevelt wrote these words some three weeks ago, he had his eye, not on Colorado, but on the countries of Central and South America, over whose manners and morals he has constituted himself censor. Yet when the naughty revolutionists in San Domingo, Panama, Colombia, and Guatemala read the dispatches from the Cripple Creek district, in our own highly civilized and profoundly peaceful America, they will probably sit up and rub their eyes in amazement. "Why," they will ask, "is President Roosevelt so much wrought up over our teapot insurrections? Why will he not allow us to indulge in our national sport? He is not fulminating against the Colorado rebels, not sending Federal troops to quell them." The trouble with these simple-minded Spanish-Americans is that they do not understand the beauties of our Constitution. The President has no right to interfere in the affairs of Colorado unless the Governor appeals to him for aid, or unless the functions of the central Government, such as carrying the mails or enforcing the decrees of the Federal courts, are interrupted. The Governor of Colorado has emphatically declared that he needs no help. For President Roosevelt, then, there is nothing to do but watch the struggle with sympathetic interest. Nor can he reply to the appeal of the Colorado miners, who have vaguely in mind the precedent of the President's intervention in the Pennsylvania coal strike. But, in the first place, that was not strictly a local disorder. It threatened misery to the people of a score of States. Furthermore, the President professed no shadow of legal right to interfere. He merely volunteered his good offices. Nothing in the Colorado situation calls for even so much as that.

Yet "civil war" is the only term that fitly describes the struggle between the striking miners of Colorado and the State troops. The rebels were intrenched on Wednesday week in a cañon, but, after a sharp contest, they were finally dislodged by Gen. Bell's force, which killed one and took fourteen prisoners. The rebels held other intrenched positions on the surrounding hills, from which they continued their attack on the troops. The miners have taken arms against the constituted authorities for the sake of the God-given right to murder anybody who will not join their union and work according to its regulation. They have set the rules of their organizations above State law, above Federal law, above the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence. Men are not entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness unless they conform to the hours and wage scale of the union—the basic principle upon which this republic now rests. The Atlantic Coast Seamen's Union is also contending for "recognition"—that is, the exclusive employment of union men. There are, of course, a few old fogies scattered about the country who still cling to the theories of our forefathers, but rifle, rope, and dynamite ought to make short work with them.

The quarrel between the Socialists and trade unionists of the Central Federated Union may be smoothed over, but at least it will have served to point an interesting distinction between these two industrial panaceas. Socialism is a cure-all; its advocates desire the elevation of an entire class, and the benevolent absorption of the bourgeois and the capitalist in an enlightened proletariat. Trade unionism, on the contrary, is limited; it seeks simply the welfare of those who belong to the union. In its spirit and methods it resembles the Trusts. Accordingly, a great gulf is fixed between the two movements. The last thing that unionism would consider is the abolition of such special privilages as Socialism condemns; Socialism, on gaining control of a State, would include in one proscription the labor syndicates and the commercial. No wonder, then, that

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the Central Federated Union dislikes to give the Socialists a hearing. It should be noted, however, that this theoretical incompatibility might yield to practical considerations. Whenever Socialists become opportunists, they tend to draw in the labor organizers; in the same way, whenever unions belcome liberal enough to include all the workmen of a trade, they become excellent material for the Socialist propaganda. But this accord, which has been rather successfully reached in Germany, France, and Italy, seems still distant in the United States.

It is to be hoped that the removal of Col. Pratt from the superintendency of the school for Indian youth at Carlisle, Pa., means the establishment of a new order in that institution. What is needed just now, is not merely a change of temperament in the superintendent's office, but a change of sentiment among the pupils. The Indian in his native state is quite enough of an individualist without stimulating this trait in his education. Col. Pratt's theory has always been that it was the first business of each Indian boy to get to the top as soon as he could, and—as the boy almost inevitably interpreted it—by any means he could. Some saner friends of the red man thought that a race hardly emerging from savagery was not ripe for such inspiration. They felt that the first duty of the young Indian to whom a better path in life had been opened, was to try to help his brethren to walk in it with him. The missionary spirit—or "team work," if one wishes a more secular term—seemed to deserve more encouragement than the spirit of selfish enterprise, at the outset of a career in domestication. The Pratt ideal has always been the planting of each Indian by himself in the midst of our Eastern civilization, and the consequent elimination of the race by its absorption into the white social body; and his theory of educating the individual Indian for competition with his better-equipped Caucasian neighbors fitted into this scheme fairly well. But the scheme itself has, in general, proved a grievous disappointment. Only in isolated instances has an Indian found his place and held it in the East. The great mass of his fellows have realized that the crude conditions of a frontier country were better suited to their social needs for the present; and, when they have returned to their old home and their own people, an education which spurs them to compete rather than to help has often stood them in bad stead.

Lord Lansdowne was asked in Parliament on Monday concerning the coastwise regulations of other countries, with particular reference to our Philippine policy. The reply was that the proposed restriction in the latter case seemed inconsistent with the promise of this country at the time the Treaty of Paris was drawn up, and that the matter was now under discussion at Washington. Lord Lansdowne's point has been generally accepted in Europe in the past. The British Board of Trade reports have called attention to the fact that the treaty gave Spanish vessels the same rights in the Philippines as American until 1909, adding that "we have official assurances that British shipping will be treated not less favorably than Spanish." Of course, as Lord Lansdowne remembers, our new law will not take effect until 1906, but that is not the important point. The question is, have we been guilty of a breach of international morality? A full answer to the question asked in Parliament would reveal us in a pitiful light. It would show that of the eight principal countries with colonies, Great Britain, Germany, Holland, Denmark, Portugal, and practically France throw open the trade between the mother country and its possessions. The United States is less than the least in this particular. It is determined to play the dog in the manger. If it cannot supply its colonies with shipping on fair terms, it is determined that no other Power shall, promise or no promise.

All attempts to hush up the Congo State scandal are thwarted by Earl Percy's vigorous language before Parliament on Thursday. "Insensate inhuman cruelties," he charged, were committed by the Congo officials "in order that they might profit by the collection of rubber." These were serious words to use of a friendly Power, and it is not to be imagined that the Under Secretary of Foreign Affairs was speaking at random. The evidence laid before Parliament was chiefly that of the British consul to the Congo State, Roger Casement. This has been communicated to all the Powers—again a very grave step—and the United States, Italy, and Turkey have agreed to give the matter careful consideration. Eliminating the Turkish adhesion as an execrably bad joke, it seems probable that England may have to take up the affair single-handed. She has a great stake in the matter. Her possessions crowd the Congo State and suffer as it suffers. Furthermore, in case Belgium were ousted as a faithless trustee, England would figure largely among the residuary legatees. Humanity and self-interest, then, combine to urge England to force Belgium to cleanse its rotten administration. And the mass of evidence against the Congo State officials cannot be brushed aside by hinting that Great Britain is preparing to play the land-grabber again. Belgium has fallen almost by chance into a gigantic task for which she was singularly ill-fitted. It appears that, in the name of commerce, she has made a hell on the Congo. For that she is answerable morally to all the civilized Powers; diplomatically, chiefly to her neighbor, Great Britain. We in the United States should with ill grace interpose to save the negroes of the Congo from having their hands cut off, before we have stopped burning our own negroes at the stake.

It is a noteworthy coincidence that about the time the Sultan was hastening to approve an investigation of Belgian atrocities on the Congo, he received a note from the French Foreign Minister demanding that the Armenian massacres should cease. M. Delcassé reported on Thursday to the Chamber of Deputies: "I have informed the Porte that the time for repression is over, and that it must beware what responsibility it incurs. The French Government will not cease to do its whole duty." This protest to the Porte marks a new stage in French diplomacy in the Near East. M. Delcassé had before shown a keen interest in the Macedonian question, and generally persons of influence have felt that France, as the most disinterested party, should take the lead in forcing the Sultan to observe his European covenants. We have long maintained that only France and England are in a position to do this necessary work, and that the Concert of Europe would follow their initiative. On this matter the publicist M. de Pressensé recently wrote in *L'Humanité:* "I firmly believe more than ever that it would be sufficient for all those Powers who were parties to the Treaty of Berlin and who have not sold their consciences for concessions from the Porte, to adopt collective steps in Constantinople with the view of stopping bloodshed."

The Brazilian naval-reorganization measure has a strategic look. If it is not really a gentle hint to the Kaiser and the President that Brazil does not doubt her ability to protect her territory and develop her "civilization" in her own way, she will probably not be sorry to have them think so. Seriously, the bill which has just been brought forward in the national legislature is of a sort to make one question the motives of those behind it. The latest accessible list of the Brazilian navy enumerates seven ships, all but two under 5,000 tons, in addition to twelve torpedo boats of various descriptions. The new measure provides for twenty-eight war vessels. This conception of the needs of the nation is too magnificent to be convincing. Chili and Argentina have been selling their ships, but it is not likely that they will be in the least frightened by this new move on the part of Brazil. We fear that the real significance of the measure is in the statement that "the bill contains an expression of opinion that the vessels should be constructed in British yards."

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THE NEW DEMOCRATIC ALIGNMENT.

In all the activity of the Democratic party prior to the St. Louis Convention, we may see something larger and more significant than the struggle over candidates or about the platform. The latter, indeed, is practically determined already—that is, in its strategic plank. Free silver will not have the cerements of the grave stripped off it. That means, at any rate, that the campaign will not be lost before it begins. This is an enormous gain for both party and country, whoever the nominee for the Presidency. And keen as still is the competition on the personal side, the broad movement within the party, rising above the fortunes of any individual candidate, is already clearly defined.

It may best be described, perhaps, in terms of geography. The alliance between the South and the West has been dissolved. Again there has been established the old alignment of the South with the East. This is the large political truth which really comprehends and explains the Parker candidacy. It is plainly no question of personal enthusiasm. Had the lamented Russell lived and the South been to-day rallying to that chivalrous Massachusetts Democrat, it might have been said that it was his gallant bearing and magnetic leadership that were bewitching the hearts of men. Nothing of the kind has been or can be asserted in the case of Judge Parker—he himself would be the first to disallow it. It is the accident of his position as the most available candidate of a great Eastern State which has brought him to the front; and that is only another way of saying that the South has turned from the setting to the rising sun—from a hazardous casting in of its lot with the radicals and the Populists of the West to a sober choice of steadier allies in the East.

It was after the party disasters of 1893 to 1895 that the South broke away from its historic relations with the Eastern Democracy, and struck hands with the aggressive Democrats of the West. There was something to say for that strategy. Populism threatened to overrun the South. Its ravages in Alabama and North Carolina were alarming. If the situation were to be saved at all in 1896, there was a superficial argument for overcoming the Populists by uniting with them and absorbing their doctrines. Such were Bryan's tactics. If the thing could be done in the West, why not try it on in the South and let the East go? Cleveland had carried Western States—Illinois and Wisconsin—in 1892; Bryanism made Colorado sure and Kansas fighting ground, with good hope of all the mining-camp States. It was a gambler's chance, but the South took it.

Of course, everything was lost. As might have been foreseen, the same causes which drove every Eastern State into the Republican party, turned Illinois and Wisconsin against the Democrats by majorities in the hundred thousand. Worse than that, more damaging than the mere loss of one election, the Populist taint remained to curse the party for years; to make its defeat in 1900 more calamitous than in 1896; to empty the Senate of Northern Democrats and to make a Democratic Governor north of Mason and Dixon's line a rarity. With nothing but such huge disaster behind and no hope in the future along the same lines, the Democratic leaders in the South awoke this year to the need of a change of policy. That has already been effected. The South lifted its eyes eastward. Asking nothing for itself, it waited only for an Eastern Democrat to come forward to supplant Bryan and avert Hearst. That is the true explanation of the Parker movement. He but symbolizes the union of the Democracy of the South with that of the East.

It is a situation full of hope for the party. In saying that, we do not mean to predict its immediate success. A candid survey of the field shows how great are the electoral difficulties which the Democrats have to overcome. The new apportionment is against them. Under it, the old combination of the South with New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Indiana is not of itself a winning one. At present the number of electoral votes necessary to an election is 239. The South will have 159. Add in the 39 of New York, New Jersey's 12, the 7 of Connecticut, and the 15 of Indiana, and you are still 7 electoral votes short. Where are they to be picked up? In Colorado? She has but 5, and is apparently preparing to give them to the Republicans. Other possibilities exist, but we will not pursue the matter. It is evident to any fair mind that, lacking a tidal wave, of which there is no present sign, the Democrats have an exceedingly arduous battle before them. To triumph, they will have to hold their lines everywhere intact, while driving back their antagonists in unexpected places. This being the hard fact, it would be foolish to speak of the new Democratic alignment as a presage of victory. But it at least makes a future victory possible, and of a sort which would not spell calamity to the country. It points the way to the formation of an Opposition party which is not disabled from performing its needed function by affrighting people on sight. It foretokens the affirmation of wholesome political truths, and the denunciation of dangerous tendencies in the party in power, in a way which will recall

> "——old forgotten principles,
> And through the nation spread a novel heat
> Of virtuous feeling."

Success thus merited may in the end be attained.

STATE COMMITTEES.

In the political activities of this year a factor of unusual prominence has been the influence of the Central Committees in some of the important States. Here in New York we see the Governor assuming the position of State Chairman, thus uniting in his own person the party functions of working out policies and conducting campaigns. In Indiana, the defeat of the Hearst forces was to be attributed partly to the action of the Committee in excluding delegates from the temporary roll of the convention; while in Wisconsin the right of the Central Committee to go behind the face of credentials in deciding what delegates should be admitted to the convention hall, has been made the basis of an actual revolt. Looking at any one State, the power and importance of the State Committee will be found to have varied greatly in different years; but, taking the country over, there appears to be a tendency toward giving the State Committees larger control, aside from those matters of purely executive character which have always been in their charge.

The State Central Committee was created because it was necessary to have some one to look after the details of campaigning, secure speakers, call meetings, distribute campaign literature, bring out the full vote on election day, and see that the party had its rights at the polls. Platforms and candidates were attended to by the convention. The theory was that these two functions were entirely independent. The convention dealt the cards. The committee's duty was to play the hand, good or bad, with all the sagacity and skill it could summon. It was usually in real sympathy with the party issues, because the leaders responsible for the candidate and the platform would naturally control the committee as well. Otherwise, the bond was much like that between agent and principal, the committee making the best of a situation not of its own making.

For the extension of its power since that time, two things are chiefly responsible: the need for lodging the authority of the party somewhere during the months between conventions, and the adoption of the Australian ballot. The direct primary, should it be generally adopted, will tend in the same direction. In most States the party conventions and committees have already been changed from mere conveniences established by party rule to organic parts of the electoral system, governed no less than the polling booth itself by the State law. In a study of the State Central Committee as it exists to-day, contributed to the current number of the *Political Science Quarterly* by C. E. Merriam, the stages in the legal recognition of the committee are traced. The convention must always, as a matter of course, be made sponsor for the nominations to be placed under the party emblem, but va-

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cancies often occur between the adjournment of the convention and election day. The laws of nearly all the States authorize the Central Committee to fill such vacancies, sometimes with the proviso that, if time permits, a special convention shall be called, but in others without that limitation. Hence arise such significant provisions as in Colorado, where the Democratic committee has full power "to consider, pass upon, and determine all controversies concerning the regularity of the organization of the party within and for any Congressional district or county or city in the State of Colorado"; or in Pennsylvania, where the Democratic committee may "direct such changes as may appear necessary" in the rules of local organizations and enforce its demands by refusing representation until they are complied with. In a Missouri case involving such powers the court decided, "It would seem inherently necessary in all party organizations that there should be some governing head, some controlling power, some common arbiter, which, if emergency should arise therefor, can lay its hands on the heads of the warring factions within the party and compel the observance of wholesome regulations, conducive alike to efficient party organization and to good government."

The examples we have had this year do not, to be sure, show the State Committee as a very successful pacificator, but it has gained its end where it has used its full powers. In Wisconsin, for instance, the Committee exercised the right of going behind the prima-facie credentials of delegates in making up the temporary roll of the convention. Whether this would have changed the complexion of the convention, and whether it was contrary to precedent, are disputed points, but such a right becomes momentous whenever the balance of power is held by the delegates whose seats are contested. The alternative in Wisconsin, as in all other States, is to let the county or district chairman's certificate admit to the temporary organization of the convention. Under either practice, the convention can overrule the decision so far as the make-up of the permanent organization is concerned, though it is apt to be too far faction-bound to use its calm judgment.

If power is to be added to that portion of the party organization which never dies, and if it is to become in fact the repository of policies and authority through fifty-one weeks of every year, it should be recognized as such. If its function is to be solely "practical politics," it may be all very well to pick out its members for their shrewdness in pulling wires and rounding up delegates. If, however, it becomes the living, active force within the party, the same high qualifications should be sought in the State Committeemen as in the candidates themselves.

IMMIGRANTS AND STEAMSHIP WARS.

Further cuts in steerage rates went into effect on Monday. Immigrants can now obtain passage from several English and Scottish ports to New York for $10, where formerly they paid $25. This is the latest move in a rate war between rival steamship companies. In consequence, however, much fear is expressed that the result may be to induce a large influx of highly undesirable aliens. The slums of Whitechapel, it is said, are prepared to discharge upon us a loathsome mass of poverty, filth, and disease, which, under the comparatively lax immigration laws of Great Britain, has for years poured in from Russia, Austria-Hungary, and the Balkan States. According to Frank P. Sargent, Commissioner-General of Immigration, this noxious invasion has already begun.

We are inclined to think that the situation, actual and prospective, is greatly exaggerated. The immigration laws provide an adequate protection against the dreaded inundation. Only a year ago these laws were reënacted, added to, and in numerous ways made adaptable to present conditions. Under the new statute, practically all the objectionable aliens said to be tempted by the reduced steerage rates may be excluded, and the responsibilities of the steamship companies increased. It groups objectionable immigrants under three heads—the physically and mentally deficient, the hopelessly poor, and the morally depraved. It thus excludes all idiots, epileptics, and insane persons; all persons who have been insane for five years or who have had two attacks of insanity at any time. It likewise prohibits the landing of all aliens suffering from loathsome or contagious diseases. Under the second head come professional beggars, absolute paupers, and all who are likely to become public charges. Polygamists, anarchists — of philosophical or bomb-throwing variety —prostitutes, procurers, and persons who have been convicted of crimes involving "moral turpitude," are in the third class. In addition, there is the contract laborer, with the much-enduring Chinaman. The law of 1903 also requires increased vigilance by steamship companies. They are forbidden to advertise, except in the most perfunctory way; and are made subject to a fine of $1,000 for every illegal immigrant they attempt to land. They are required to make out complete manifests of all passengers, and answer a multitude of questions concerning their physical, mental, and financial status. They must themselves deport all rejected immigrants, paying the expense of their maintenance while here. And the period during which they may be called upon to return landed immigrants who become paupers is increased from one to two years.

Though the new law has been in force little more than a year, it is said to be working well. In August last the Government sent Mr. Marcus Braun to southeastern Europe to investigate its workings. His official report contains much that is pertinent to the present situation. He found that the steamship companies, especially those engaged in the present rate war, were doing everything in their power to improve the quality of immigrants. They had curbed the enthusiasm of their agents, in some cases refusing commissions to those who improperly solicited business; and had taken every precaution to fortify themselves against diseased passengers. In the main, Mr. Braun commends the English and German steamship lines for their rigid medical inspections. He also reports the coöperation of foreign Governments, especially Austria-Hungary and Italy. The mails are closed to alluring literature describing the American Eldorado. Mr. Braun says that letters of this kind are confiscated by hundreds of thousands, so that the old abuse is practically ended. He found nothing to substantiate the popular notion that the Italian Government encouraged the emigration of undesirable subjects. On the contrary, it does everything to keep this very element away from America. The Government, declares Mr. Braun, is in constant fear that the United States may pass laws against Italian immigration, which would be a serious thing for Italy, as whole towns in the southern part are supported mainly by remittances from America. The Italian authorities, Mr. Braun found, had imprisoned several of the most notorious steamship "runners." All over Europe it is generally understood that it is no easy thing to get into the United States. Thus, thousands of Russian Jews are sent to London, where they spend a probationary period of about six months, in the hope of putting themselves in sufficiently fit physical condition to gain admittance. For the same reason, thousands of the proscribed classes land at Canadian and Mexican ports, with the hope of eventually slipping in over the border—unquestionably a real danger. The only immigration law generally despised and evaded is that against contract labor.

Thus there would seem to be no impending peril from present steamship rivalry. Like all wars, it is expensive. According to general belief, the companies lose money by every immigrant; and it is not likely that they will care to increase the expense by numerous $1,000 fines. If they go to reckless extremes, our remedy is to enforce the laws. Such aspiring citizens as are undesirable we can keep out; such as are desirable we are, of course, only too glad to let in. According to the latest immigration reports, a growing percentage of immigrants is excluded under the act of 1903.

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Last year we sent back 8,769 at the steamship companies' expense, against 4,974 in the previous year. The larger number of the diseased were Japanese, who, of course, are not affected by the new steamship rates. Evidently, however, our local officials have learned how to apply the new law; and it is to be presumed they will not hesitate, in the next few weeks, to make such use of it as occasion requires.

REVISING THE CANADIAN TARIFF.

Minister Fielding, in his budget speech, has presented a plan for revising the Canadian tariff, and naturally he has not failed to commend the schedules he arranged six years ago by pointing to the sensational prosperity that Canada has enjoyed ever since. How far Mr. Fielding's tariff created the forests and fisheries of the Dominion, how much it did to make the Northwestern Territory fertile, we may decide later. For the moment it is enough to show that Canada has greatly prospered under schedules so low that, we are assured, their adoption would ruin this far richer country. If industrial development and agricultural returns are possible only under the ægis of a virtually prohibitive tariff, then Canada should long ago have gone to the international poorhouse.

The Fielding tariff of 1898 was a timid protective compromise on the part of a free-trade party. The Liberals found themselves very much in the position of our Democrats in 1892, bound to revise a high tariff, but without the courage to reduce it frankly to a revenue basis. So Mr. Fielding's bill produced schedules which practically have been good revenue-getters, but have remained essentially protective. Under the grudging protection, however, which the industries of Canada thus received, our infant industries would have been stricken with terror of death. Food and animals, for example, enjoy only 26.47 per cent. protection, against our 68.11 per cent.; manufactured articles, 24.24, against 49.11. In general, Canada's tariff wall is about half as high as ours, and yet Mr. Fielding holds that in many places it is higher than need be. Apparently, the infant industries of Canada are far more robust than ours.

As for Mr. Fielding's plan of revision, its most significant feature is the fixing of three schedules—a maximum, a medium for most favored nations, a minimum for the British Empire. This virtually confirms the present practice of the Dominion, under which German goods pay a sur-tax, United States goods the average schedules, British products 33 1-3 per cent. less than the average rates. Any advantage to Great Britain, however, is largely offset by raising from 23 1-3 to 30 per cent. the minimum duty on woollens, of which Canada imports about $11,000,000 annually. Small concessions to Great Britain are reductions in the duties on china and pottery, and on window and plate glass, the latter sweeping. These reductions are quite as likely to favor the United States as England. Molasses from British countries giving a preference will be admitted free. Refined coal oil will pay only 2½ cents a gallon instead of 5; crude oil will be free, but the Canadian refiner will receive a bounty of 1½ cents a gallon on crude oil manufactured in Canada. This is an artificial attempt to bolster up an industry apparently dwindling through natural causes. Much of this bounty may go, in the long run, into the coffers of the Standard Oil Company.

Mr. Fielding's proposal to prevent "dumping" has excited some comment, but his plan comes very near to our own practice of marking up invoices and penalizing undervaluation. Mr. Fielding would simply charge a stiff percentage of the difference between the invoice and the fair market value of the goods at the place of shipment. Evidently that would make it very expensive for any Canadian importer to encourage the foreign "dumper," though in practice it would be rather difficult to apply so drastic a penalty. "Dumped" goods do not bear their horrid character on their face like a mark of Cain, and practically it might be hard to determine just where a reasonable concession from the foreign market price ends and dumping begins.

Far more edifying than these dry details is the spectacle of a growing country calmly discussing schedules which we are told would spell ruin here, and undertaking substantial revision of its tariff downward without the slightest fear of shattering the industrial fabric. Why should that scaling process which is held in fairly superstitious horror at Washington be cheerfully proposed at Ottawa? Why, simply because Canada has never been keyed up to our artificial pitch. Her manufacturers have never grown so fat on treasury favors as to hold the rod over the entire country. The result is that the Dominion has never got into that ridiculous *impasse* in which our ruling party lies paralyzed. Canada has never built up a customs system so sensitive that if touched anywhere it will turn out a veritable infernal machine and blow up the meddler, with all hands. There is still a saving remnant in Canadian politics which sees that the tariff has played a very small part in the growth of the country. The fertile vacant places of Canada have been her wealth; her forests and teeming waters. She thrives precisely as we have done, by hard work applied to the gifts of nature. Yet that wholesome truth is now questioned there. Her manufacturers, like ours, insist that the Government owes them a living, and a good one. Still, she has kept her freedom of action, and Mr. Fielding's proposals, though obviously imperfect, show at least an intention to legislate for the nation, and not for a class.

To us who are told that our prosperity and our very safety lie in letting the Dingley bill alone, Mr. Fielding's act must seem, according to our political affiliations, like that of a hero or a madman. That he seems neither in Canada indicates either that our northern neighbors are running wantonly into self-destruction, or that we are living under the tyranny of a most insubstantial bogey.

SCIENTIFIC AND OTHER DEGREES.

Science reports in full a discussion by the American Society of Naturalists on the subject of academic degrees conferred for scientific work. Should the B.S., M.S., and D.Sc. be retained, or should the bachelor's and master's degree in arts and the doctorate in philosophy crown work in the sciences as well as in the humanities? To-day the former degrees do not stand for attainments distinctly in the sciences. But in consequence of a growing feeling that scientific studies, though not essentially superior, are still as dignified as the classics and immediately more useful, the latter have so largely fallen into abeyance that the degree of bachelor of arts has come to represent all but no classical knowledge at all. The naturalists and several college presidents who participated in the discussion practically agreed that the collegiate B.S. (President Jordan explained, "bachelor of surfaces") is rapidly losing its reason for existing, and that the sooner it is abolished the better. Most of the younger institutions—Johns Hopkins, Leland Stanford, and others—have never adopted it at all, and have never felt the want of it. As for Chicago, which gives baccalaureate degrees in arts, science, and philosophy, and whose students of commerce become bachelors of philosophy, we will hope, with Professor Cattell, "that idealism will be radiated from the packing houses of the city." The suggestion was made that the science degree might be awarded for purely technological work in schools of engineering. But this is another matter.

Incidentally, the naturalists spoke of the honorary degree and of degrees in general. The "Who's LL.D.'s" have of late years multiplied with the rapidity of micro-organisms, and the number at present must be nearly as great as when "it repented the Lord that he had made man on the earth." Thirty-nine were created at Wisconsin's semi-centennial last week, including Jane Addams of Hull House. The indiscriminate bestowal of the honorary degree upon successful men of commerce and politics is obviously tantamount to the formal endorsement of their civic ethics by the academic staff of the country, and to their being held up for emulation be-

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fore graduating classes and the community in general. It thus mischievously adds to the babel-confusion of ideals which alone makes it possible that so much anarchy, so much mendacity, so much folly and selfishness can live and prosper among us. Genuine merit is, and always has been, anxious for sympathy and recognition on the part of the best—often the more so, the truer and greater it is. But to-day it can hardly feel honored by a "vir probissimus" credential from the authorities, and it must surely feel offended at the knowledge that it is sharing the honor with successful *arrivisme*, if not worse. Going much higher in the human scale, and coming to that which is more than merit, honorary college degrees seem actually ridiculous. "Herbert Spencer, LL.D.," would have been a forlorn joke in the Synthetic Philosophy. No wonder that one of the naturalists suggested that eminent investigators refuse the honor altogether.

As to degrees in general, there was a pretty unanimous feeling that they are a necessary evil. That they are universally demanded, every one knows. Long strings of degrees appended to the faculty names in a college catalogue beautify appearances, for anxious parents, much more effectively than would long lists of original contributions to human thought; consequently, no college catalogue can afford to be without them. In Germany a degree is an admission ticket to the table of the well-to-do middle class. In France it is supposed to have a handsome dowry-value. Consequently, the idea of abolishing the conferring of degrees in general should be discarded as sheer madness, destroying, as it surely would, the numerical greatness of our colleges, and entailing material losses upon a certain fraction of the world's intellectual aristocracy.

Nor can we forget the marvellous modern development of the methods by which degrees may be acquired. There was a time when the *doctores rite promoti* were not *promoti* until after many years of residence in universities. We believe some fifteen years, at least, were deemed necessary for the attainment of a certain mental maturity certified to by the degree. But in these days of predigested, brain-creating cereal foods such enormous waste of energy is no longer necessary. All one has to do is to order by mail, from one of our correspondence universities, a lot of typewritten mental discipline; in grateful recognition whereof said university will promptly and cheerfully grant any degree desired—bachelor's, master's, doctor's, according to the quantity purchased—all on beautifully hand-made diplomas of artificial parchment paper. Even in most residence-colleges very little effort (and that largely muscular) is required for taking a degree. And it carries the valuable persuasion, especially to the holder himself, that he is sufficiently "cultured" for the higher activities of life. We confess we do not see the evil of it all. To our mind the modern degree is an ingenious time- and labor-saving device. Far from being ashamed of it, we are proud of it, as we are proud of many other wonderful institutions in our highly developed civilization. Thus we fail to comprehend how President Jordan can say that "academic degrees belong to the babyhood of culture," why President Butler calls them "the tinsel of education," or why Professor Cattell would "like to see academic degrees abolished altogether, or, as a second choice, to see the B.A. degree interpreted as meaning either bachelor of arts or bachelor of athletics, as the case may be, and then conferred on each college student when he attains his twenty-first birthday."

ITALY, FRANCE, AND THE VATICAN.

FLORENCE, May 28, 1904.

The hopes of the ultra-Socialists, Republicans, and Radicals that the Pope's "protest" against the visit of the Republican President Loubet to the King of Italy in the "Apostolic palace of the Quirinal in Rome" would frustrate the efforts of the Italian Government and the Pope to come to some amicable understanding (without, of course, any formal proclamation), are dashed to the ground by the fact that to-morrow the King of Italy visiting Bologna for the Exposition will be welcomed at the town hall by Cardinal Svampa, the Archbishop of Bologna, by the express order of Pio X. Both Victor Emanuel II. and King Humbert visited Bologna, the former when he went in 1860 to meet his new subjects who had thrown off the Papal yoke and proclaimed their unanimous will to form part of the constitutional kingdom of Piedmont. Then, of course, the clergy took no part. King Humbert visited the city three times—the first time just after he had ascended the throne, when Benedetto Cairoli was prime minister with Zanardelli; and on that occasion the Republicans opposed the participation of their party, but Aurelio Saffi and Giosuè Carducci not only participated, but the then democratic poet, who only a month before had refused the decoration of the Order of Savoy, was presented to the sovereigns and wrote his famous ode to Queen Margeret. The clergy was not represented, though the municipality then was composed of Moderates and Clericals. In 1888 Mgr. Battaglini, Archbishop of Bologna, wished to take part in the ceremony, but was forbidden to do so, and was reproved by Leo XIII. for his personal reception of Queen Margeret, when she went to the Church of San Petronio.

Your readers will remember the affront meditated by the Archbishop of Palermo in 1896, when the sovereigns on their visit to the great Exposition were prepared to visit the cathedral, as all sovereigns had done before them—as Garibaldi also did—and were received by the Archbishop. The orders of the intransigent Cardinal Celesia were that they should not be received, and Nicotera, informed of the meditated affront, frustrated it by conducting the sovereigns straight to the royal palace. The Cardinal Archbishop justified his prohibition by "the order of the Pope," who never abated his hostilities to the son of the usurper who affirmed "Rome intangible." His conduct after the murder of King Humbert was unchristian as it was inhuman. All funereal ceremonies were forbidden as far as it lay in his power to prevent them. Even the English Catholics were forbidden to hold or take part in them. The prayer of the widowed Queen was prohibited. When funeral rites were solemnly celebrated at Bologna, the Archbishop Cardinal Svampa was ordered to quit the city, which he, a fierce *intransigente*, did with ostentation. How is it that to-day he is to unite with the civil authorities in welcoming the King to the city which formed part of the temporal territory over which the sovereign pontiffs maintain their right to reign?

Altri tempi, altri costumi. The present Pope, who protects the Rosminians so maltreated and persecuted by Pio Nono and Leo XIII., recommending the study of Rosmini's doctrines to the youth of Italy in a recent brief, though the Rosminians are the only order who hoist the national flag during national festivals, takes every occasion to favor the association of religious authorities with national life. When the King promised, a month since, to visit Bologna, the Archbishop sent to Rome to know how he was to conduct himself on the occasion. The Pope answered by ordering him to take an official part in the reception, stipulating only that he should be the first authority received by the King, the precedence being due to his rank. The intermediary, Avv. Ambrosini, went at once to the Quirinal to inform Count Giannotti, master of ceremonies, of his interview; and that the conditions were accepted is proved by the terms of the prefect's invitation to the Cardinal, who replied on the same day (April 25): "I am much obliged to his Excellency for the happy (*fausta*) information which he has kindly communicated. Next Saturday I shall make it my duty to come to the town hall to offer the homage of my devoted reverence (*l'omaggio del mio devoto ossequio*) to his Majesty, the King." It was hoped by the *intransigenti* of all parties that, after the visit, the "protest" and the consequent agitation, the Cardinal would be advised to take a compulsory leave of absence, owing to a *fausto* illness. But the Pope did not see things in that light, and nothing in the conduct of the Italian Government during the month of May gave him the slightest pretext for altering his instructions.

Previous to the visit of the French President the prime minister, though on excellent terms with the Republicans and "reforming" Socialists, prohibited a Republican demonstration because offensive to the spiritual head of the Catholic Church; affirming that in the welcome given to Loubet on his "return visit" to the King of Italy there was no intention of gratuitously offending the spiritual authority of the Pope. For the same reason the address of the Freemasons was revised. Again, during the discussion of the budget of the Ministry of Justice, Ronchetti, an ultra-Liberal, under-Home Secretary during Zanardelli's ministry, in answer to some violent appeals for the introduction of a radical ecclesiastical policy, warned his "friends" that such a serious question must be made

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the subject of a separate and grave discussion; that the special conditions of Italy in her relations to the Vatican were so intricate and serious that, while it was necessary to maintain the rights and dignity of the state (in which duty the Government never had been and never would be found wanting), this did not extend to provocation, to the creation of useless difficulties and vexatious conflicts—adding: "The reordering of ecclesiastical property is a formidable problem barbed with the most serious difficulties, to solve which all efforts have hitherto proved vain. Not less arduous is the reorganization of dioceses and parishes, which, indeed, never can be accomplished without the collaboration of the ecclesiastical authorities."

Anent the influx of the members of the Congregationists expelled from France, the minister stated the facts clearly, though it is well known that he is seriously perturbed by the increasing numbers of "native confraternities" which, by the pious fraud of purchasing lands and edifices in the name of a single person, are gradually reviving the old state of things supposed to have been abolished by the laws following that of 1867. He referred to the declaration of the Minister of the Interior, and explained that the law does not prohibit citizens from associating for religious worship, nor from wearing a special costume; and that the same law applies to foreigners. But it refuses to recognize the juridical personality of these congregations, and can compel them to a strict observance of all the laws of the state. He did not, however, deny the possible necessity of a new law for the hindrance of pious frauds; and, indeed, facts and figures show that, little by little, the religious corporations abolished in Italy are gradually reforming in increasing strength and numbers. Deputy Alessio has proved that the number of persons living in religious communities has increased enormously, that of women doubled. Many of them have returned to their old convents and monasteries under other names, and thence dispense alms and soup as of old. The old hostilities between Dominicans and Franciscans, between Jesuits and Somaschians, have disappeared.

But why on earth, it may be asked, if the intentions of both the Italian Government and the Pope are so amicable, was the "protest" launched when the visit was ended and everybody was rejoicing in the "All's well that ends well?" Because at the Vatican more than elsewhere "there are wheels within wheels;" because no Pope, angel and saint combined in one, can resist the pressure of the combined hostility of intransigent ecclesiastics and of tradition. On the 4th of May a brief note in the *Osservatore Romano*, the official organ of the Vatican, stated that a protest *had been* issued to the heads of all Catholic Powers; but no importance was attached to the news until, on the 14th, the text of the note, published by Jaurès in his Socialist paper, *L'Humanité*, appeared in the Roman papers with a comment by Jaurès showing that the protests sent to other Catholic Powers and that sent to France differed in an essential point, to wit: in the former the Pope explained "that only serious reasons of order and urgent motives of actuality had prevented the recall of the Papal nuncio from Paris." Compared with the anathemas of the two preceding popes this seems astonishingly mild. France is told that, owing to the singular benevolence of the Supreme Pontiffs for her, and to the signal benefits conferred on her, it behoved France above all other nations to act with the utmost delicacy towards the Holy See, and that the visit paid by the chief of that nation to "Him who, contrary to every right, impedes his civil sovereignty in Rome" (*Colui che, contre tutti i diritti, detiene la sua civile sovranità in Roma*) is a far more heinous offence than it would have been on the part of any other of the Catholic Powers, who have all abstained from so offending, although serious interests on the part of some (Austria), and ties of kindred on the part of others, held out strong inducements to them to visit the kings of Italy in Rome. The *Colui* is the only reference to the King of Italy in the protest; later it is said "that the visit was desired by the Italian Government in order to weaken the recognition of the rights of the Holy See." Giolitti and his colleagues were accused of cowardice, of truckling to the Vatican for not taking action on this. When presently it was known that Nisard, the French ambassador to the Vatican, had been recalled—whether for a temporary holiday or for good, it was not clear—the tempest augmented in violence. "Ministers of monarchy" were bidden to learn from republican France how to uphold the dignity of the nation, the rights of the State; were warned that they would soon be humiliated still further by seeing the papal nuncio packed off from Paris, by the total rupture of diplomatic relations between France and the Vatican, the abolition of the Concordat, the total separation of Church and State. Never since the dark days that followed Mentana has a discussion in the French Chambers been awaited as anxiously as that of to-day.

May 29.

The *Giornale d'Italia* has received the entire discussion by telephone. Delcassé's allusions to "the Papacy's absurd pretensions to temporal power," and Combes's decisive declaration that "France accepts no intervention by the Vatican in her foreign policy, that she means to put an end to the vain pretence, void of all value, of the Papacy to the temporal power," have sent through Italy a thrill of joy that for the moment effaces all other feelings. The telegram of the radical congress in Rome to Combes expresses the sentiments of all Italians who love and are proud of the patient fortitude, as well as of the heroic martyrdom, of the makers and keepers of Italy one and independent. J. W. M.

BARON HUEBNER'S DIARY.—II.

PARIS, June 1, 1904.

The Emperor Napoleon III. informed the diplomatic body of his intended marriage with Mlle. de Montijo on the 22d of January, 1853. It was a love match, he said; and was he not himself a *parvenu?* He alluded to the reserved attitude which the great Powers had maintained before recognizing the new French Empire, and to the fact that Austria had asked for the marriage of the Archduchess Marie Louise with Napoleon I. "This," wrote Hübner, "disquiets the public"; and to Minister Buol:

"The Ambassadors are not as alarmed as they were. . . . They feared for a moment that the Emperor would fly off their hands and throw himself into the world of adventure. A man who, at the age of forty-five, himself decides, to satisfy a caprice, to make a love match (especially if that man be an Emperor and change his flame into an Empress) at the risk of forfeiting the opinion of the country and of Europe—such a man, it must be confessed, is made to inspire apprehension."

The civil marriage took place at the Tuileries, and the next day the religious marriage was celebrated in the cathedral of Notre Dame. The public remained very cold; there were no acclamations, the spectators were indifferent and impassive. "You would have thought they were at the play, not understanding it, and thinking that it was not worth while to ask what it meant."

Hübner was not deceived by the apparent coolness of the Emperor when he spoke of foreign affairs:

"I am not reassured," he wrote to Buol, "concerning the Emperor's disposition. . . . Foreign politics will now become the ground on which he will by preference exercise his inclination for conspiracies, and I believe he will create difficulties for us in Italy, by helping secretly in Sardinia and perhaps throughout the Peninsula the demagogic party. But sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof."

In another letter he shows well his early comprehension of the Emperor's character:

"His policy at home, as well as abroad, has always been to talk revolution to the revolutionists and authority to the men of order. But there comes a moment when ambiguity of language is no longer sufficient. . . . At present he hesitates. It is for the cabinets to decide if he ought to be accepted. . . . Believe me, he will always be more yielding on great questions than on what, in the manner of Louis Philippe, he calls the humiliations. . . . The refusal of a mere courtesy revolts him. He sends forth fire and flame, and threatens a rupture with the Continent. If we wish to win him over in some measure, let us try to humor this susceptibility as much as our dignity allows. . . . Do not take me for a coward, my dear Count; do not believe, either, that it amuses me to play the courtier in this new court. It is far from amusing. But France is France; if we throw him into a bad way, he will set fire to the four corners of Europe, and we shall have much difficulty in extinguishing it."

Napoleon found the first occasion of playing a part in the affairs of Europe in the difficulties of the Eastern question. The mission of Prince Menshikoff to Constantinople brought matters to a crisis; the French fleet was sent into Grecian waters. The affair of the Holy Land occasioned endless discussions between the great Powers and the Porte. Hübner felt that a conflict in the East would be a terrible affair. There was not much harmony between the great Powers: Lord Palmerston was anxious to go to war against Russia and to draw Louis Napoleon into common action; Austria was wavering, for, though hostile to Russia, she had no desire to act with France. The marriage of the Duke de Brabant to an Austrian archduchess was considered by Napoleon an attack on himself.

"He thinks himself betrayed, threatened, humiliated; he makes on me the effect of a man out of his mind. I do not think that his anger is simulated. We must put ourselves in his place. He owes the throne of France to a *coup de main*, made by a few battalions. He wants to keep it, but sometimes feels it trembling under his feet. Then he becomes alarmed and angry. In those moments I think him capable of anything."

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Lord Palmerston was in favor of vigorous action against Russia, but Lord Aberdeen and King Leopold (who was always a prudent adviser of Queen Victoria) wished to avoid war. The marriage of the Belgian royal prince with an Austrian princess made Napoleon furious. While matters were hanging on a thread, Hübner wrote: "I pray God that they at Saint Petersburg be wise. If the Emperor Nicholas makes war on Turkey, France will follow England, and what will England do? The whole question is there; and what would be our situation?" Austria had signed the treaty of 1841 which maintained the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire. Did Russia's demands threaten this independence? The Sultan said that they did; France and England said the same. Austria and Prussia stood reserved, but Hübner confesses that in Germany public opinion was decidedly hostile to Russia, and the Anglo-French alliance was forming. This alliance was, in Hübner's words, the "danger of the situation."

We must note, here and there, the portraits traced by Hübner. After a visit to the Malmaison, where lived at the time Queen Christina of Spain, he writes:

"The classical features of her head and her face, which would still be handsome if it were not for the sensual lips, would make one forget the exuberance of her Catholic Majesty's figure. Add to this eyes which sometimes shoot fire, sometimes so dreamy as to cover themselves with a transparent veil, and you will understand what the old General Infante, one of her innumerable ministers, once said to me: 'At the Council table, she asks for impossible things. You refuse. She insists. You are still inexorable. Then she breaks your opposition with a look, a single look, and you leave the Council with shame on your face and death in your soul.' It was in this way that she wore out all her ministers and ended by being turned out of the country."

Persigny often had familiar conversation with Hübner. "'The Emperor Napoleon,'" he once said, "'has on his side the people; Austria has the educated classes. Give us the educated classes and we will give you the people.' These words, more paradoxical than witty or true, betray the inner sufferings of the Tuileries; the Tuileries feel themselves disdained by the courts of the Continent." Here is a curious example of the Emperor's susceptibilities:

"A young German prince [his name is not given] placed under the protection of the Austrian embassy had not had himself presented at court. I ignored the young German's presence in Paris, and he had not yet made me his visit. But the Emperor suspected me of being the cause of this abstention. To know the truth about it he sent to me Bacciochi, after having told him: 'Say to him frankly what is the matter; don't play the diplomat. . . . If you are frank, Hübner, as I know him, will be frank also.' His envoy was frank enough to repeat to me these very words. I had the prince searched for in the hotels of Paris, and I presented him to the Emperor, who received me with open arms and ceased to show me coldness for several weeks. Is this clear enough?"

A conference of the Powers took place at Vienna, and meanwhile hostilities began on the Danube between the Russians and the Turks. Hübner was conscious that the French Emperor saw only a pretext in the Turkish complications. "What," he said, "is the situation? Are we confronting a real Eastern question? No. Turkey is merely the ground on which the real question is to be raised; for England and for France this real question is the preponderance of Russia. John Bull don't want this preponderance, whatever Lord Aberdeen may say or do. . . . France cannot remain passive. . . . The progress of Russia must be stopped. This is the new phase on which we enter."

In the midst of these political considerations, we find interesting accounts of visits to Champlatreux, the château of Count Molé, to Fontainebleau. Hübner calls Fontainebleau the richest and most fantastic of all the castles of the ancient kings of France. During this visit, made with Drouyn de Lhuys, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Thouvenel, he found himself with Princess Mathilde and the personages of the new court. Of the great gentlemen of the country, there was but one, the Duke de Bauffremont. After the dinner, served for eighty people in the magnificent gallery of Henri II., Hübner had a long conversation with the Emperor on the Eastern question:

"I then had the honor of opening the ball with the Empress. It was the eve of her feast day. The Emperor took the gentlemen to his bedroom and distributed to them bouquets of flowers. Guided by him, we then entered in procession the room where stood the Empress, and we presented our flowers to her in succession. . . . Towards the end of the evening, Drouyn de Lhuys begged me regard what his master had said to me as having the value of an official communication."

Austria, Prussia, France, and England signed in Vienna in December, 1853, a protocol which isolated Russia, and which virtually put an end to the Russian hegemony in Central Europe—a result which was but imperfectly understood in Vienna and in Berlin. It was the policy of Drouyn de Lhuys to seek in an alliance with Austria (a conservative country) a remedy against the revolutionary tendencies of his master and at the same time a counterpoise against the influence of England, personified at the time by Lord Palmerston. Napoleon was absolute master of France; his object was to undo the treaties of 1815, and an alliance of France with England against Russia was the entering wedge. England was both astonished and pleased to find the army of France at her service. The preoccupations and reflections of Hübner during the confused period of negotiation which preceded the Crimean war, and during the war itself, are full of interest, as they reflect the current state of mind in Austria. Hübner clearly foresaw that the Crimean war was but a beginning, and that the position and influence of Austria were threatened by the combined action of France and England. He prophesied that the Italian question would come into the ascendant after the Congress of Paris, which followed the Crimean war.

The first volume of his curious journal covers the years 1851-1856; it will be followed very soon by a second volume which will undoubtedly be as interesting as the first. At the end of the first volume we find Hübner's appreciation of Cavour, whom he met at the Congress of Paris.

"I like," said he, "to do justice to my adversaries, but Cavour displeased me. At the Congress he tried to appear modest. At the sitting of the 8th of April, when Walewski was, against his will, obliged to cast the firebrand of Italian affairs among the plenipotentiaries, with the knowledge if not with the approbation of the Emperor Napoleon, Cavour had the courage to attack openly Austria, whom he did not cease to attack secretly during the conferences. Strongly supported by Prince Napoleon, he was not pleased by the Emperor's constant wavering between his good and his bad instincts, between his desire to be accepted by the sovereigns and his fear of being compromised by the revolutionists. Cavour's physique is wanting in distinction."

THE FRENCH PRIMITIVES IN PARIS.

PARIS, May, 1904.

It was no doubt the successful exhibition of Flemish primitives, held two years ago at Bruges, that suggested the exhibition of French primitives recently opened in the Pavillon de Mersan at the Louvre, with a supplementary section at the Bibliothèque Nationale. One of its immediate objects, according to its organizers, is to make reparation for the long period during which these early French painters have been neglected and forgotten. The cynical, just now when critics at the Salon are declaring that there is no French art left, might see in the collection only an additional proof that there was none, as far as painting is concerned, in the beginning, and that if the French primitives have been neglected, it is because they never existed. However this may be, one thing is certain: the show has a very great historical importance; no pains have been spared to make it complete; while, when it comes to the later period represented, the sixteenth century—though then, surely, French art had outgrown all primitiveness—there is work that appeals as powerfully to the artist as to the historian or the Morellian. In a word, the show is one to be seen by everybody who happens to be in Paris before the 14th of July, when it closes—is, indeed, one worth a special journey for the special student.

As the exhibition is held in Paris, I need hardly explain that it is not only intelligently but delightfully arranged. Even the person caring nothing for the history of primitive or any other art should go, if merely to enjoy the first impression on entering from the Rue de Rivoli. For the great hall below and the stairway leading to the picture galleries upstairs are hung with gorgeous old tapestries; beautiful statues stand here and there; and masses of plants make restful spaces of cool green in the midst of the glow of color and the splendor of design. There is nothing of the tedious effect of an exhibition. It took me, at any rate, some little time to realize that tapestries and statues were there as "specimens" to be examined, lent for the occasion by private collectors and public museums, so essentially did they seem to belong to their background. Naturally, in the picture galleries, it has not been so easy to retain this illusion of appropriate decoration. Here the end would be defeated if the paintings were not grouped according to schools and periods, and hung so that they could be studied separately and comparatively.

Already the collection has aroused great national and patriotic enthusiasm; already it has been seized upon as a motive for books that are to establish the originality and preëminence of the French Primitives; already I seem conscious of busy Morellians shuffling names and attributions, and dealing them out afresh. But when the enthusiasm has had time to cool, when the game of attributions has been played, I

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have an idea that the general estimate of the French Primitives will be very much what it was. At the best, the primitive art of any country, except for the rare work of the rare genius, has little beyond an historical value. And I see nothing in the present collection, to which national and provincial museums, churches, and cathedrals from all over France, collectors from all over Europe, have contributed, to convince one that the occasional genius in primitive France was less rare than has been thought; nothing to disprove the belief that what painting there then was, reveals Flemish and Italian influence rather than local character. I know it is now urged that, after all, in the early days of the Valois, Flanders and Burgundy were so closely allied as to be practically the same country, united under the same princes, the people sharing the same interests; and that if the work then done in Burgundy bear traces of what we call Flemish influence, there is no more reason for attributing it to a Flemish origin than there would be to embrace all Flemish work in one great Burgundian school. Indeed, I should not be surprised if, presently, it were urged that Flemish art really is Burgundian or French. But the fact remains that the few great painters in this part of Europe who owed their art to Flemish—or Burgundian, if you please—sources, belong to the country that once was Flanders and now is Belgium, and that they alone give the Flemish School, and indirectly the Burgundian group, any artistic importance. There are altarpieces and panels and even portraits in the Burgundian section that have all the amusing angular naïveté, the uncompromising, matter-of-fact realism, the minute detail, the homely conception of beauty, that characterized the series of pictures at Bruges; but nowhere did I discover the little more that separates the supreme genius from the well-trained craftsman—the little more found in the masterpieces of Memling and the Van Eycks. And so with the other French Schools, the sole essential difference being that, as you get further south—in Provence, for instance, where painting flourished in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries—the Italian influence replaces the Flemish.

One or two artists may seem somewhat more accomplished than the rest—Fouquet, the painter still known as "le Maître de Moulins," though the Morellians have him in hand; Nicholas Froment. But, interesting as their work is, admirable and notable as are the examples—Froment's triptych with René and Jeanne de Laval, like donors kneeling on either side in the wings, from the cathedral at Aix; the exquisite little paintings on vellum by Fouquet; a simple portrait of a woman by the Maître de Moulins, the property of Mr. Walter Gay; the strikingly realistic head of a child, in the catalogue ascribed tentatively to Jean Bourdichon—interesting as these and other things are, I do not hesitate to say that the unprejudiced student will find nothing in the series that can be compared to the great performance of the Flemish Primitives on the one hand, of the Italian on the other. That good painting was done in France during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, is clear. But, despite the care and thoroughness and knowledge with which the collection has been got together, only a comparatively few known examples of note being omitted; despite the fact that never before has there been such an opportunity for an exhaustive study of the early French painters; I do not believe sufficient new evidence will be found in the work shown to persuade the impartial critic to modify his appreciation of the relative merits of the Primitive Schools of European painting; I do not believe the historian of art will see any reason to rewrite his history.

Coming down to a later period, it is another matter. It may be stretching a point to include in an exhibition of Primitives men like Corneille de Lyon, Jean and François Clouet, and the artists who worked at Fontainebleau with the Italians summoned to France by François I. But no one can regret that that point has been stretched, at least in the case of the Clouets and their disciples. For here a stage is reached when a school of French painting with a distinct character of its own had been developed; and though it may be proved that Jean Clouet happened to be born in Flanders, his work must still be ranked as essentially French. Some of the portraits by him and by his son François are so Holbein-like in their beautiful flat modelling and in their design—in the way the head is placed on the canvas or the little flower is held in a hand—that it is no wonder if now and then one of them has been attributed to Holbein. But the resemblance is more or less superficial, and the French characteristics become more and more marked. Art in France, or rather painting, never found its most sympathetic outlet in religious subjects and for religious purposes, as it did in Italy and Flanders; and it was inevitable, from the very nature of the French genius, that its first fine flowering should have been in portraiture. Many of the most beautiful and famous examples are here: that wonderful little portrait of Elizabeth of Austria by François Clouet from the Louvre; the man holding the volume of Petrarch from Hampton Court, lent by King Edward; panels—portraits of men and women—from Versailles and private collections, by Corneille de Lyon, that now, seen together, make one realize as never before what a fine master he was. But perhaps even more beautiful are the drawings, the wonderful Clouet drawings in crayon, little more than outlines, with the occasional touch of color, but so strong in the rendering of character, so learned and exquisite in draughtsmanship. With this school of portrait painters to boast of, there seems the less need for French historians to be so eager in their desire to reconstruct for themselves a native school of Primitives. Of the work by the Fontainebleau group, I say nothing. It really is out of place in the present collection. And, besides, in it is felt not so much the influence of Italy as the deliberate imitation of Italian masters—if, indeed, the few pictures catalogued as by the School of Fontainebleau were not actually painted by Italians.

I have so far spoken entirely of the paintings, because more space is given to them, and more attention is paid to them in the admitted desire to recall and reinstate the neglected and the forgotten. But if the French people waited to produce a school of painters of their own, they evolved a great school of sculpture almost as soon as a great school of architecture. The sculpture, however, is less easy to represent in an exhibition of this kind, for the simple reason that architects and sculptors in those early days worked together in such intimate coöperation—the art of the sculptor supplementing and completing the art of the architect—that to do justice to the sculptors would be to strip half the cathedrals and churches of France of their most glorious ornament. A number of statues are scattered through the galleries, some in stone, some in wood, most of them tinted and gilded, or, rather, with a little of the old color and gilding clinging to them still. But they give a mere suggestion of the work in which, as all France testifies, the early artists of France triumphed.

I have referred to the tapestries exhibited. There are also fine enamels and marvellous illuminations. And, as the old mural decorations are no more available for purposes of exhibition than the old sculptures, a number of copies of the most ancient frescoes or wall paintings in the country have been lent from the "Monuments Historiques" collections, and hung together in an upper room. Moreover, to round out the exhibition more completely, as the space in the Pavillon de Mersan is limited, and as transportation was too great a risk for certain of the nation's treasures, the new room at the Bibliothèque Nationale has been used for the display of a marvellous series of early illuminated manuscripts and books. It is here that Jean Fouquet is seen to even better advantage.

I should add that the catalogue is exceedingly well done, the descriptions exhaustive, the illustrations representative; in every way, the model of what a catalogue should be. Altogether, the organizers of the exhibition—who have the Ministre de l'Instruction Publique as their President and M. Henri Bouchot of the Bibliothèque Nationale, to whose incentive the show is due, as their Secretary—are sincerely to be congratulated.

N. N.

Correspondence.

RUSSIA AND THE NORTH.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The question whether the friendly attitude of Russia during your civil war was helpful and welcome to the North might, I believe, be settled by reference to your journals of that date. The British Government was, from the beginning and throughout, resolved on neutrality, and needed no demonstration on the part of Russia or any other Power to confirm it in that resolution. But the attitude of Russia was probably somewhat helpful to it in resisting the efforts of the party in its own country which was striving to force it into intervention. By the Emperor of the French, intervention was certainly desired; on him the attitude of Russia could hardly fail to produce its effect. It did not strike me, or I think any of us, at the time, that there was anything affected or insincere on the part of Russia. It was natural that she should sympathize with a Power entirely friendly to her and not likely to be otherwise, against the Powers with which she had recently been, and might again be, at war. It is not by the jealousy of

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the United States that she is blocked at the Dardanelles and wherever she tries to make her way to an open sea. She has nothing to fear from the contagion of your republican institutions. Her policy has, of course, been decided by objects of her own; but it may, nevertheless, have led her sincerely to desire friendly relations with the United States.—Yours faithfully,

GOLDWIN SMITH.

TORONTO, June 11, 1904.

Notes.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co. have completed their plans for the preparation of a new series of works on "The Types of English Literature," under the general editorship of Prof. W. A. Neilson of Columbia University, recently of Harvard. The following assignments have already been made: "The Ballad," to Prof. F. B. Gummere of Haverford; "The Novel," to Dr. Bliss Perry, editor of the *Atlantic Monthly;* "The Lyric," to Prof. F. E. Schelling of the University of Pennsylvania; "Tragedy," to Prof. C. H. Thorndike of Northwestern University; "The Pastoral," to Prof. J. B. Fletcher of Columbia University, recently of Harvard; "The Essay," to Dr. Ferris Greenslet of the *Atlantic Monthly;* "Character Writing," to Mr. C. N. Greenough of Harvard; "Saints' Legends," to Dr. G. H. Gerould of Bryn Mawr; "Allegory," to the general editor. Other volumes are being arranged for, and the series will cover ultimately the whole field of English literature.

Mr. D. B. Updike, Boston, announces an elegant quarto edition of Ascanio Condivi's Life of Michelangelo (1553), translated and embellished (even to the designing of a special fount of "Montallegro" type) by Herbert P. Horne. Out of 275 copies, 230 will be for sale.

Mr. Hector Macpherson, the author of a life of Adam Smith, has prepared a condensed edition of the 'Wealth of Nations' (T. Y. Crowell & Co.). As Adam Smith entitled some considerable parts of his book digressions, the work of condensation is so far simplified; but, as this edition can contain scarcely a third of the original matter, many things are omitted which will be missed by those familiar with what Smith wrote. The editor observes that much of the historical illustration—the combination of which with general principles, as Mill said, had such happy results—has become obsolete. But principles can be made clear by old facts as well as by new ones; and they are not made clearer by omitting the old without substituting the new. Still, the work of selection seems to have been done with intelligence; and as the 'Wealth of Nations,' although extremely interesting, is probably so bulky as to deter many readers, an epitome may be of service. If Mr. Macpherson's book has the effect of sending those who read it to the original, it will justify its appearance.

The Hon. T. A. Brassey offers the public a collection of his writings and addresses, entitled 'Problems of Empire' (London: Arthur L. Humphreys). The book is handsomely printed and bound, but the contents remind one of President Edwards's description of his body, as composed of flaccid solids and vapid fluids. Such feeble support as this may well make Mr. Chamberlain despair of his cause. Mr. Brassey seems really unable to comprehend the nature of an argument, and his utterances amount to nothing but expressions of opinion.

We may contrast with Mr. Brassey's sumptuous volume Mr. Edward Pulsford's plainly printed and bound 'Commerce and the Empire' (Cassell & Co.). Mr. Pulsford represents New South Wales in the Australian Parliament, and is a vigorous champion of the cause of free trade. In spite of the lapse into protection which followed federation, he is confident that the English colonies will adopt the policy of the mother country; and he certainly gives abundant reasons for their doing so. While his book is addressed primarily to Australians, it is of universal value on account of the able handling of the statistical information which it contains. Perhaps nothing better fitted to make clear the fiscal controversy has yet appeared. Mr. Pulsford suggests that it would be more correct to speak of "penalized" than of "preferential" trade, and that the word "restriction" be substituted for "protection." John Stuart Mill employed the word "restrictive" in speaking of protective tariffs, and it is certainly a more accurate expression than the one in common use. This work deserves a place in public libraries as well as in those of economists.

The third volume of 'Watertown [Mass.] Records' contains the town proceedings from March, 1727, to March, 1822. These have the familiar physiognomy, and possess now chiefly a genealogical interest. We meet again with the town's vigilance against newcomers likely to become a charge on the community, and their expulsion; the care of the infirm and poor; the differences over the location of schoolhouses; the license for swine to run at large, and for horses ("without fetters," "without being well fettered"); the laying out of town ways, and perambulation of town boundaries; the repair of the minister's house, the church, the Great Bridge over the Charles River. A single item is exceptionally curious, anno 1734, when it was voted that for one year no townsman should "presume to carry any Wares or Provisions" from Watertown and "Expose them to Sale, in the Markets that is Voted by the Inhabitants of the Town of Boston to be Set up there." The fine was twenty shillings; the pretext, that Boston's setting up a market "by many is thought will prove prejudicial to people in the Country." So the protectionists carried the day. The name of Garfield is prominent in these records, but does not occur in the list of births, deaths, and marriages filling half this volume, and ranging from 1738 (after the division of the town) to 1822.

'The American Natural History,' by William T. Hornaday (Scribners), a large volume of 449 pages and many illustrations, is primarily for use in schools. Mr. Hornaday maintains that isolated facts in natural history, no matter how fascinatingly presented by the teacher, have no permanent educational value except to awaken interest in young pupils, and need to be dovetailed in some rational system that demonstrates their relations and converts them into available sources of knowledge. In the present book, intended for school instruction intermediate between college "zoology" and the "Nature Study" of the lower grades, the author has aimed to sacrifice neither the principles of his science nor the interest of his subjects. His personal knowledge of wild animals, drawn from his experiences as taxidermist and collector of specimens for the Smithsonian and as director of Bronx Park, appears on every page, and sets his book, in worth and interest, far above the compilations of hack writers and the pleasant vagaries of many popular authors of animal stories. It is almost a dictionary of vertebrated animals of North America, from monkeys to fishes inclusive. The life history of each animal is concisely related. The author writes entertainingly of the habits of animals in captivity. Of the dispositions of the Zoo mammals he says: "Deer are the greatest fools; wolves are the meanest; apes, the most cunning; bears, the most consistent and open-minded; and elephants, the most intellectual." A highly interesting section relates to poisonous snakes and the treatment of snake bites. Every sojourner in a country infested with poisonous snakes should carry a hypodermic syringe and the necessary drugs for an injecting fluid. The section on ichthyology has much matter that will interest the angler. Hypercritical readers may find fault with some of Mr. Hornaday's work on classification, and ornithologists may think his figures for the decrease of bird life a little large; but every one must admit that his book is of much value to students of vertebrate zoology.

Mr. Ralph Hoffman, a successful teacher of the art of identifying birds without the use of a gun, has just published a book for field students, entitled 'A Guide to the Birds of New England and Eastern New York' (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.). He has prepared elaborate field keys, which regard coloration, haunts, habits, and notes of his subjects. Separate keys are provided for the different seasons. Though it is somewhat disappointing to find that the author is not in his most charming mood of sympathy with nature, still his facts—first-hand observations of an experienced ornithologist—are perhaps all the more rapidly instructive from being a little hard and concise in expression. His careful descriptions of the notes of birds especially evince the long and patient field study that has gone into the making of his book. Professional ornithologists, as well as Audubonites armed with field glasses, will find this guide valuable.

The 'Field Book of Wild Birds and their Music,' by Mr. F. Schuyler Mathews (G. P. Putnam's Sons), is the most thorough and elaborate study of American bird songs yet published. The author has been able to collect his bird music and set it down on the musical staff, "taking," he says, "no liberties with the score except to make a doubtful A or B no longer doubtful." By the employment of syllables, also, he represents well the form of various songs. In many cases he has composed piano accompaniments, making with the song themes unique and charming productions. He finds that many birds use our musical scale while others do not, and includes among the former class the purple finch. The present reviewer has failed to hear the purple finch using our scale, but, as the author says, each species has a wide variety of songs,

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hence an objection based on ordinary experience has little weight.

Mr. T. Mellard Reade, author of 'The Origin of Mountain Ranges,' has brought together a series of more or less related essays, partly new, partly reprinted from professional journals, under the title 'The Evolution of Earth Structure, with a Theory of Geomorphic Changes' (Longmans, Green & Co.). Mr. Reade tries to prove that folded mountain chains arise from the recurrent heating and expansion of thick accumulations of sediment; to remove some probable misunderstandings of the earlier statement of his views; and to extend the principle of heating and expansion to the explanation of slaty cleavage. The book contains some pretty illustrations of folds artificially produced by "circumferential compression" in a round box acted upon by a "compression band." It is difficult to see how these experiments strengthen the postulate of folding by heating. Mr. Reade's thesis is an important one, however, and the worldwide occurrence of rocks showing the effects of loss of temperature by their present crystalline state demands more consideration from the author's point of view than the subject has received from working geologists.

The author, John Volk, of the unpretentious little volume recently published in New York under the title of 'Songs and Poems in Danish and English,' died a few weeks ago. He translated, apparently, with equal facility from English into Danish and from Danish into English. So we have in this selection Danish translations of poems by Longfellow, Markham, Whittier, Walker, Tennyson, Watson, Ostrander, Henry Van Dyke, Eugene Field, Warman, Kipling, Donohue, Donaldson, Tom Moore, etc., and English translations of poems by Baggesen, Drachmann, Björnson, Bögh, Grundtvig, Lie, etc., besides original productions in both languages. Readers who are interested in Scandinavian literature without being capable of first-hand study may be recommended to make the acquaintance of Danish and Norwegian lyrics through John Volk's translations. Mr. Volk is a distinct loss to Scandinavian journalism in America.

'The Issue,' by George Morgan (Philadelphia: Lippincott), is a rather impetuous narrative (of the current semi-historical type) of the ferment over slavery which begins in the short fury of the Nat Turner negro uprising in 1831, in southeastern Virginia, and continues into the civil war as far as the battle of Gettysburg, where some of the lovers in the plot find a satisfactory outcome of their perilous vicissitudes. In many respects the book shows power; the typical characters of the slave world are portrayed often in an original and seldom in a hackneyed manner. Famous historical personages (Webster, Calhoun, Clay, and Lincoln) are introduced, not always through any necessity of the fiction and sometimes with unjustifiable burlesque; sometimes also with entertaining reminiscence of their well-known traits of mind and body. Vigorous descriptions of notable battlefields, such as Antietam and Gettysburg, carry along the general sweep of the tale, which is full enough of adventure to content the most exacting of appetites for stir and thrill. Po Groudy, the heroine, has a melodramatic career, from the day when as a baby she escaped the Nat Turner massacre, through her experience as a revival exhorter among the Chesapeake 'longshoremen, thence as a Crimean nurse (of which we have only a rumor), and finally as nurse in the Union army, appearing with the customary remarkable timeliness to the needs of her friends which good novelists ensure. The lack of quiet resting-places for the reader's emotions is partly due to the rapid transitions of this young woman from one hardship to another, and partly to the procession of personages of the eccentric and villanous kind which is constantly passing across the stage of action.

The fourth number of the John P. Branch Historical Papers of Randolph-Macon College (the annual publication of the department of history) breaks off in the midst of a series of reprints from the Richmond *Enquirer* of 1816, embracing Judge Spencer Roane's opinion in the case of Hunter vs. Martin, and sundry articles of his on the same theme of State rights, "a sort of prelude to the Missouri controversy," as Professor Dodd points out. The first of three other papers in this number is a sketch of the life and Congressional activity of George C. Dromgoole, an uncompromising Virginian champion of slavery. His biographer does not spare his infirmity of drunkenness, but might have enlivened his pages by citing verbatim John Quincy Adams's sarcasm, which will do more to perpetuate Dromgoole's memory than any merit of his own.

Bound up with the Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin at the annual meeting in October, 1903, are two papers of decided value on "Coöperative Communities in Wisconsin," by Montgomery E. McIntosh, and "Early Wisconsin Imprints," with facsimile illustrations, by Henry E. Legler.

In the April Bulletin of the Central National Library in Florence, announcement is made of a prize of $500, offered by a "signore forestiero," transparently veiled (whose Petrarch collection, we are told, ought not to run the risk of crossing the Atlantic, but should remain on the banks of the Arno), for the best work exhibiting the relations of Petrarch to his native Tuscany. The donor hopes the essay may combine literary quality with scientific research. Two hundred dollars additional will be allowed towards the expense of printing and illustrations. The essay must be in Italian, and be handed in to the Laurentian Library not later than April 9, 1905, the anniversary of Petrarch's crowning in the Campidoglio. The judges will be Guido Biagi, Guido Mazzoni, and Pio Rajna.

The Florentine bibliopole, Leo S. Olschki, has just issued a Catalogue 57 by way of supplement to his remarkable Catalogue 53, 'Monumenta Typographica,' which we noticed at the time of its appearance. These additions to his collection of early printed works are characterized with the same scrupulosity as their predecessors, and frequently illustrated in facsimile. Tables of towns and printers follow. The sole book published in Pogliano, Petrarch's 'Libro degli uomini famosi,' is among the rarities.

"O. T." writes to us: "There is a certain similarity between the names used in 'Florambel de Lucea' and those in 'Pandosto' and the 'Winter's Tale' which is possibly worth while calling attention to. I give first of all the name in 'Florambel,' accompanied by the volume and page where it occurs in Clemencin's 'Don Quijote,' then the name in Greene or Shakspere: Florineo (I, 31), Florizel; Beladina (I, 31), Bellaria; Policiano (II, 264), Polixenes; Leoncides (II, 462), Leontes; Lerinter (II, 469), Jarrinter."

—At the last meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, held at its building in Boston on Thursday last, Dr. Adolph Harnack of Berlin, of 'History of Dogma' fame, was elected an honorary member in succession to Theodor Mommsen. The rule of the Society as respects election to its honorary list has already been referred to in the *Nation*. In that society all the classes of membership, three in number, resident, corresponding, and honorary, are strictly limited. The charter of incorporation confines the resident membership to citizens of Massachusetts, not exceeding one hundred in number. The corresponding membership is confined to fifty, chosen at large from persons not resident in Massachusetts. The honorary membership is still further limited to ten persons chosen at large because of conspicuous eminence in the field of historic research or the production of some historical work of international fame. Dr. Mommsen was a marked example of a selection made on both grounds. He was elected in October, 1880, and at his death his name stood second on the roll; David Masson, author of the 'Life and Times of Milton,' elected in 1871, alone preceding him. Besides Dr. Masson, six other names only are now included, Dr. Harnack making an eighth. The six names are Carl Schurz (1887), James Bryce (1896), Sir George O. Trevelyan (1899), Pasquale Villari (1901), and Henry Charles Lee (1902). There are two vacancies remaining to be filled, and in connection with these the names of John Morley and Capt. A. T. Mahan have been canvassed. In this matter, however, it is the practice of the Massachusetts Society to proceed with extreme circumspection. The name of Dr. Harnack, for instance, had at the time of his election been more than six months under consideration.

—From the prefatory dedication to Mr. D. B. Updike's folio edition of the Minor Writings of Tacitus it appears that this author was chosen by Prof. Charles Eliot Norton, from among all the Latin classics, as worthy of the honor of being first printed in the publisher's new fount (designed by Bertram Goodhue). The choice is approved not only on the ground of genius and style, but because we cannot read Tacitus without some painful home reflections—"multa continet quae hoc tempore nostrae reipublicae legentes de nostra vita eiusque vitiis publicis privatis legere videamur." However, this chastening experience is less to be incurred with the Agricola, the Germania, and the Dialogus de Oratoribus than with the Annals and Histories. By so much, accordingly, one's pleasure will be less marred in viewing and perusing this noble specimen of the printer's art. Mr. Goodhue's letter has that masculine quality which insures it Mr. De Vinne's suffrage. It is well balanced, and characteristic without freakishness; archaic only in the ligated *ct* and in the hyphen (/). The capitals have been well studied and subordinated. A typographer's eye will be struck with the close

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spacing, which does not shirk divisions at the end of the line—which even invites them. Four or five hyphens thus sometimes terminate as many successive lines, and thereby increase the task of the pressman. There are three initial letters of the proper strength and beauty, cut on wood, and we can but applaud the taste and craftsmanship to the very end, where the colophon is introduced by a filleted *capo di bove* printed in red, and the Merrymount Press is designated as "officina quae Hilarimontium dicitur." The paper is Arnold, expressly hand-made for this edition. Mrs. Whitman has presided most successfully over the binding, in olive green leather and gray boards. Prof. Morris Hicky Morgan of Harvard has superintended the Latin, filling in certain lacunæ in Henry Furneaux's text, which the Clarendon Press has courteously given permission to reproduce. Altogether, this enterprise merits very high praise indeed, with the natural regret that only one hundred copies are available for those who may covet the volume. One other observation, not supererogatory: the letterpress is readable as well as a thing of beauty in itself.

—Methuen & Co., London (New York: E. P. Dutton), have added an 'Alfred Tennyson' to their "Little Biographies." The writer is Arthur C. Benson, whose 'Rossetti' was but lately added to the "English Men of Letters" series. One gets the impression that it was written *con amore* to a degree that the 'Rossetti' was not. Its structure is looser than that of the earlier book, with no corresponding loss. The biographical part takes up 77 pages, and its principal incidents are the publication of Tennyson's successive collections of verse and particular poems. Little here is new, but our memory of many things is pleasantly refreshed. The remainder of the book is a discontinuous and anecdotical comment on the poet's mind, character, and work. Mr. Benson has helped himself liberally from the official Life, but the good things which there were scattered are here crowded close together. The best anecdotes are those which have the pungency of Tennyson's literary judgments, as where he said of Ben Jonson's dramas, "To me he seems to move in a wide sea of glue." What Tennyson thought of other poets and how they influenced him, furnishes the matter of one of the most interesting chapters. Another describes the methods of his work. Mr. Benson agrees with FitzGerald that Tennyson's best work is found in the two volumes of 1842; that what he did later was too responsive to what he conceived to be the public demand upon him for moral and religious inspiration. The treatment of Tennyson's religious temper and opinions is remarkable for its sincerity. There is no attempt to make him out more Christian than he was. The Christian dogmas had little hold on him. Passionately insistent on the soul's immortality, he drew no argument for it from the resurrection of Jesus. The limitations of Tennyson's character, his lack of sympathy, and his morbid sensibility to criticism, are not extenuated nor too much insisted on. To the technical qualities of Tennyson's verse Mr. Benson brings a trained and delicate appreciation.

—At the death in Göttingen, a year and a half ago, of Dr. Karl Dziatzko, and in Leipzig, shortly after, of Max Spirgatis, editor and publisher respectively of the "Sammlung bibliothekswissenschaftlicher Arbeiten," it was feared that this valuable series would cease. A new number (the seventeenth) has, however, appeared, published in Halle by Rudolf Haupt—who has purchased Spirgatis's publishing and antiquarian business—and edited by Dr. Konrad Haebler in Dresden, well known as the author of many important contributions to Spanish bibliography. It is dedicated to the memory of Karl Dziatzko, and has an excellent portrait of him, with a bibliography of his printed writings, in addition to two posthumous papers. One of these deals with the so-called R-printer, whom the author is inclined to identify with Adolph Rusch of Strassburg; the other is a sketch of the university library of Göttingen during the reign of Jerome Bonaparte as King of Westphalia. It was then, in the beginning of the nineteenth century, at the height of its fame. While the number of volumes on its shelves, the value of its manuscripts and rare printed books, were exceeded in other libraries, "no library possessed a collection of scientific literature brought together upon such a consistent and uniform plan." The main reason for its importance was "the relative completeness of the collection in all books of permanent value for the pursuit of learned studies." And in general usefulness and accessibility this library was far ahead of most contemporary institutions. While, for instance, the Bodleian did not admit the use of any book outside its walls, a policy which Dziatzko regrets having been adopted later for the British Museum and many other English (and, we may add, American) libraries, the students and professors of the University in Göttingen could take home a practically unlimited number of books. This practice is now common among German university libraries, but at that time Göttingen was in this respect far ahead even of them. The same liberality was extended to resident and non-resident scholars, whether with academic connections or not. The "Georgia Augusta" was in many ways favored by Jerome and Napoleon at the expense of other institutions. Its library was apparently intended by them to become for North Germany what the Imperial Library in Paris is for France. While so many German libraries were despoiled and their treasures taken to Paris, Göttingen was not only spared, but even invited to share in the spoils. With rare self-control, however, the library authorities selected only a comparatively small number of manuscripts and printed books, presumably following for the acceptance of these gifts the same principle as in their purchases, namely, to acquire only what would be immediately useful. After 1813 all these "gifts" had to be returned.

—The bibliography of Dr. Dziatzko's writings gives an interesting picture of the literary activity of a German librarian. He preserved through life his early interest in classical literature, and returned again and again to his favorite authors, Plautus and Terence. In 1872 he passed from teaching to librarianship, becoming in that year chief librarian in Breslau, in 1886 in Göttingen. The first fruit of his work as librarian was his "Instruktion betreffend die Ausarbeitung des alphabetischen Zettelkataloges," which was lithographed in 1874, and in 1886 was followed by the important "Instruktion für die Ordnung der Titel im alphabetischen Zettelkataloge der Königlichen und Universitätsbibliothek zu Breslau." He wrote for the 'Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften' and the 'Real-Encyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft' important articles on libraries and on the book trade; and for the *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* as well as for his own "Sammlung bibliothekswissenschaftlicher Arbeiten," many papers on various problems of bibliography and library administration, including articles on the recent movement for a universal bibliography and on the international relations between libraries. The subject with which his name is perhaps most closely identified is the invention of printing. In 1895 he wrote an excellent summary of what was then known of Gutenberg, and two numbers of the "Sammlung," the second (1889) and fourth (1890), were entirely confined to this question. In the former, entitled "Beiträge zur Gutenbergfrage," he published the long-lost Helmasperger notarial instrument of November 6, 1455, which he had discovered among the manuscript rarities in Göttingen; and the latter, "Gutenbergs früheste Druckerpraxis," is a minute study of the thirty-six and forty-two-line Bibles. These researches were carried on in the bibliographical seminar which he conducted as professor of "Bibliothekshilfswissenschaften." He soon felt the necessity of having under absolute control a medium for publishing shorter contributions to bibliography both of his own and of his students, and therefore began to include in his "Sammlung" a "series within the series," under the title, "Beiträge zur Theorie und Praxis des Buch- und Bibliothekswesens," afterwards changed to "Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Schrift-, Buch- und Bibliothekswesens." He published seven of these miscellaneous numbers; the present, the eighth, will be the last, and in future each number of the "Sammlung" will contain a single monograph.

—We put out incessant efforts through missionaries to improve the morals of the Chinese and other Eastern nations, as well as elsewhere; why should not as great, perhaps greater, effort be made to improve their sanitary arrangements? An observer at Mongtze in Yunnan, on the Anamese border, Georges Barbézieux, physician to the French Consulate, remarks in his report to the Chinese Imperial Customs that the state of the Chinese is well described in reports and documents sent by the officers of European Governments to the home office; but what is done in a sanitary way in London, Paris, St. Petersburg, New York, is not known to the Chinese, nor do the reports of European officials among them (such as his own) get back to them. In a few large cities like Shanghai, Canton, Tientsin, Hankow, the European quarters are built on the model of Western countries, with wide, well-lighted streets, networks of sewers, a sort of embryonic municipality with its different boards. But beside this lies the Chinese city in all its filth, and in the smaller places the Europeans live as the Chinese. If reports about China, so far as they offer suggestions to the Chinese, were translated and then spread broadcast in China in the form of tracts, with a special dis-

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cussion of matters of public hygiene, some improvements would begin to follow, and pestilences that now have free scope among them would begin to disappear. The Chinese notables can be trusted to know a wise suggestion when they hear it, and from them instruction can filter down through the lower strata.

—Dr. Barbézieux thinks it a matter of international concern that the Chinese should not bury their dead at the level of the ground, in half-open winding sheets, and sometimes in simple mats; for we have in these customs a vehement cause of the spread of some epidemics. In Mongtze, corpses and carrion are abandoned to wandering dogs and birds of prey; swine and fowl defile the soil; filth remains in the house; lepers elbow decent people on the street, even put up at the same inn with them and share the same bed. Europeans bear with Chinese manners because they are few; but when railroads and other improvements now under way bring in a greater influx of civilized people, these old customs would become dangerous and an international menace. Perhaps it is too much to expect, with Dr. Barbézieux, permission to introduce mixed tribunals in China and elsewhere in the interest of sanitary science, as has been allowed in old times in the case of crimes; but missionary enterprise in this line by means of instruction and the printing-press needs to be encouraged. The aged Empress might perhaps be induced to send some of her young men to Europe or America to train themselves for professors of sanitation.

LIFE IN THE ANTHRACITE REGIONS.

The Slav Invasion and the Mine Workers: A Study in Immigration. By Frederic Julian Warne, Ph.D.; Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co.

Anthracite Coal Communities: A Study of the Demography, the Social, Educational, and Moral Life of the Anthracite Regions. By Peter Roberts, Ph.D. The Macmillan Co.

That two books should be published almost simultaneously on the Slav invasion, as bearing on the strike question in the anthracite regions, is hardly accidental. The little book by Dr. Warne covers a wider range than does the very minute treatise by Dr. Roberts on the population of the anthracite field, for it describes both the life of the foreign workers in that field and the successful organization of miners and operators created in some of the bituminous coal States to reconcile differences and adjust wages at joint annual conferences. Both authorities write from intimate acquaintance with the people and the subjects of which they treat, Dr. Roberts being a Congregational minister in Mahanoy City, Pa., and Dr. Warne having been a correspondent of the Philadelphia *Ledger* in the strikes of 1900 and 1902; and both approach the subject without any strong, distorting bias, though Dr. Warne evidently hopes for and expects more from the influence of trade unionism than does the clergyman.

A study of the social conditions existing among the representatives of the twenty-six nationalities that constitute one of the most complex of the many cosmopolitan communities which make up the fabric of our national life, would at any time be interesting, but is, in the existing unsettled state of the labor market, peculiarly acceptable. Dr. Roberts's present work is supplemental to a book published by him on 'The Anthracite Coal Industry' before the great strike of 1902, and which we reviewed before the memorable struggle between the owners and transporters of hard coal and the miners of that fuel began. In that review we pointed out the risk which the whole country ran from the employment of ignorant laborers from central and southern Europe, who, although consisting in large measure of "men and boys who cannot speak or understand English, . . . are eager to join the union and ready to submit to the consequences of a strike; but, as might be expected, exercise less self-reliance and show less respect for their non-union fellow-American than does the American unionist; and therein lies the danger." What happened during the summer and autumn of 1902 was simply a realization of what every student of the economic and social conditions of the anthracite region anticipated; and, unfortunately, few regard the settlement of the dispute made by the President's Commission in any other light than as a compromise making a truce between the contending parties possible. As long as the foreign population of the anthracite region constitutes a coherent unit, foreign in its language and habits to the people that surround it and to the managers of the corporations for which it works, and as long as the means and facilities for transportation are owned by companies enormously overcapitalized, and which must make large profits, over and above the bare cost of production and carriage, in order to pay even their fixed charges, there are present elements of strife which may break forth into hostility at any moment.

Since 1892, prosperity has abounded and cold weather has prevailed. The extraordinary demand for coal has therefore kept the miners busy, and the wages are satisfactory as long as the miner works full time. It is when his annual income is restricted through the number of working days being reduced to 180, as was the case in the hard times, that the pinch of poverty is felt, and discontent and jealousy find expression in strikes, accompanied by violence. Dr. Peters pointed out in his first book that if the coal companies carried stocks over the dull season of the year to supply the market when the demand is brisk, and thus gave continuous employment to the miners, steady work would be secured to 110,000 mine hands, instead of intermittent employment to 140,000, and thus one of the chief causes of friction would be removed. It is true that the minimum number of hands would not have sufficed to produce the large tonnage demanded by the consumption of 1903. But that demand was abnormal, owing to the shortage of stocks resulting from the strike, which had to be replenished all over the Eastern States, Canada, and the Middle West. Some such remedy must, however, be adopted, even if the cost of this precious fuel is to be thereby increased; and by reason of this and other causes it is almost certain that the price will rise instead of decline. The available quantity of anthracite is so small that it will be exhausted during this century, but as no substitute has been as yet discovered, the demand for this smokeless fuel will grow, even though, from higher cost of mining it from thinner veins and greater depth, and the payment of better wages, the actual cost of production will increase. Meanwhile, the owners, in their efforts to hasten the amortization of their inflated capital, as the time of exhaustion approaches will not unreasonably endeavor to secure a larger margin of profit than even at present. The anthracite problem is therefore complicated by other factors than the unfortunate employment of Slav labor, although this dangerous feature is of the utmost interest to the public, in view of the smouldering labor troubles which threaten to break forth into flame in all of the twenty-eight coal producing States, except in the ten where the United Mine Workers of America and the mine owners have reached an agreement.

The Slav immigrants drift in larger numbers to coal-mining and coke-making regions than to any other scene of occupation; and though the Slavs of the anthracite and Eastern and Western coal-fields do not occupy a lower plane, socially and intellectually, than the immigrants of the same nationalities scattered elsewhere through the country, their concentration in such large numbers in these mining communities makes their objectionable peculiarities more conspicuous and their influence more dangerous. The description given by our author of their manner of life, their low morality, their abject superstition, descending even to the practice of magic, justify the author's conclusion

"that the Slav immigrants which furnish the cheap labor needed in the development of the thinner veins of coal, and which supplied the operators with men willing to work under conditions which labor of a higher grade resented, represent possibly the lowest grade of European workman which can be imported; for, Congress being in its present frame of mind, it is not likely that Orientals will supply operators with labor still cheaper, which would displace the Slav as he has displaced the Anglo-Saxon, the Celt, and the German."

That they likewise fill the worst-paid positions is true, and is due to their ignorance and inferior capacity, even when compared with the immigrants of Southern Europe. The Italians in our West readily secure employment as miners, while the Slavs are willing to do the drudgery work above ground which the Italian rejects. Looking over the pay-roll of a Western mine which employs very few foreigners, we find that underground there are sixteen Italians employed and only three Slaves, while thirty-one Slavs and only seven Italians accept more poorly paid surface work. Strange to say, notwithstanding the faculty which the educated Slav evinces in acquiring foreign languages, the uneducated Slav is slow in picking up English, and does not value the privilege of citizenship as highly as some of the nation's other guests. In the community above referred to, only two or three have been naturalized. The Census of 1900 shows that more than 50 per cent. of the immigrants designated as Slavs remain aliens, although this large proportion may be due in part to the late arrival of so many of this most recent group of accessions to our population.

To the Slav, as to all the immigrants from

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central and southern Europe, trade-unionism is congenial. Most of them belonged to secret and political societies in Europe, and are therefore apt pupils of the most extreme preachers of the ultra doctrines of the anti-capitalist; but, as Warne argues in his 'Slav Invasion,' "association with the English-speaking miner in the United Mine Workers' Unions is the one influence strong enough to draw him out of his isolation, and bring him into contact with the thoughts and aspirations of his American fellow-laborer." Still, it is to be regretted that his first education in American institutions should be under the tuition of the leaders of trade-unionism, nor can it tend to the real advantage of moderate trade-unionism that its ranks should be recruited largely from such material. It was the irrepressible and riotous conduct of this group of miners during the anthracite strike which brought discredit on the more self-controlled followers of Mr. John Mitchell.

What influences first introduced Slav immigration to enter the country and drew it towards the anthracite regions is not very clear, but the stream of immigrants, once it sets in, always follows the channels cut by the first rush of population. The earliest so-called Slav immigration was towards the anthracite region after the suppression of the infamous Mollie Maguires and of the more legitimate efforts at labor organization such as the Workingmen's Benevolent Association, in the seventies. It commenced flowing when unionism was at its lowest ebb, and when, therefore, unrestrained labor competition was in full play, and when, owing to depressed trade conditions, the coal operators were seeking for labor of the very cheapest kind.

These causes alone do not, however, always account for the concentration of certain groups of immigrants in certain regions. Congeniality of climate and scenery with the antecedents and tastes of the settlers have often determined the deflection of certain nationalities to certain districts. For instance, the Upper Peninsula of Michigan and the neighboring regions of Wisconsin and Minnesota more nearly resemble Finland than any section of our very diversified country, and it is therefore hardly due to accident that more Finns have during the past forty years sought employment there than elsewhere, and have settled for so long a period and in such numbers that a handsome Finnish College, where a higher education is given to the youths of that nationality and theological students are trained for the Lutheran Church, has been built, and is well supported, in Hancock, Mich. It is significant that though these hard-working citizens, unlike our transient Italian population and many among the Slavs, have no intention of returning to Russia, the Finnish language is used in their college.

Objectionable, however, as may be the Slav immigrants, and difficult as may be their assimilation into the body politic, they have come in great numbers, and will continue to come. Professor Giddings, in a recent paper read before the American Association of Political and Social Science, describes the successive waves of immigration as follows:

"The total estimated alien immigration to the United States from 1776 to 1820 was 250,000. The total number of arrivals for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903, was 857,046. This is the greatest number that ever applied for admission in a single year. . . .

"The character of these arriving aliens, however, during the past year, differs greatly from that of 1882 and the years previous. Since the foundation of our Government until within the past fifteen years, practically all the immigrants came from Great Britain and Ireland, Germany and the Scandinavian countries, and were very largely of Teutonic stock, with a large percentage of Celtic. Fifteen millions of them have made their homes with us. In fact, they have been the pathfinders in the West and Northwest. . . .

"The character of our immigration has now changed. During the past fifteen years we have been receiving a very undesirable class from southern and eastern Europe, which has taken the place of the Teutons and the Celts. During the past fiscal year nearly 600,000 of these have been landed on our shores, constituting nearly 70 per cent. of the entire immigration of the year. Instead of going to those sections where there is some need for farm labor, they congregate in the larger cities, mostly along the Atlantic seaboard, where they constitute a dangerous and unwholesome element of our population. The question that individually and vitally affects the interests of our people is: What shall we do with the thousands that are admitted?"

Professor Giddings's remedy is that the Bureau of Immigration should deflect the arrivals to localities where conditions are favorable, so that the tide of immigration will be directed to open and sparsely settled country. It will be found, however, that the arrivals will not consent to be deflected. Every immigrant follows a kinsman or a fellow-townsman to a locality where he has already secured employment, and thus one colony will consist of men from Servia, another from Dalmatia, another from Montenegro.

Our immigrants will unavoidably come from Southern Europe, for every other section of Europe has been drained. Nor can we do without them; for, even if the birth-rate of Americans and aliens of the second generation were maintained up to the normal standard, which it is not, the natural increase in population would not supply the extraordinary labor demand which the development of our national resources will certainly make, and therefore we must for many a decade to come look for its replenishment to the foreign labor markets of the world.

If we must reject Professor Giddings's remedy as a relief from the risk which the country runs from this large influx of undesirable immigrants, and if we must regard trade-unionism as at the best an equivocal school for the education of foreigners into the ways of free and intelligent and independent American citizenship, to what influence must we resort? The Church and the public schools are the most available agencies; but neither reaches the unmarried Slav, for he has no children, and he brings his priest with him. The responsibility therefore rests with the employer, who should put the means of decent living within his reach, and should supply him with wages sufficient to maintain more than a mere existence, and dwellings where the decencies of life are not habitually outraged; and then with the State, which should compel him to use the sanitary and other elevating means which his employer should provide. We are face to face in this Slav immigration with no common danger, and therefore the usual *laissez-faire* methods of refusing to interfere with one's neighbor and one's workmen's affairs are not applicable. The wise employer of labor should refuse to engage a low and dangerous class of employees unless compelled to do so by the dearth of any other; but, if he must depend upon them, common prudence would dictate that he take other precautions to protect himself and his property than he need resort to when his interests are entrusted to responsible native labor; and no precautions are so efficacious as fair wages, steady work, healthy homes, and a cheerful environment.

Outlines of the History of Art. By Dr. Wilhelm Lübke. Edited, minutely revised, and largely rewritten by Russell Sturgis. *Dodd, Mead & Co.* 1904.

As stated in the preface to the present edition, Lübke's 'History of Art' was first published in 1860, and the eleventh (a revised) edition was published in 1891. The basis of the present translation is that made in 1877 from the seventh German edition. Mr. Sturgis goes on to say:

"Since 1891 much has been added to the scholar's knowledge of archæology and to the critic's perception of artistic truth, but since 1860 the whole point of view has changed. The history of art which is possible to-day was unthinkable in 1860; many assumptions have been proved untrue; many known facts have wholly different explanations now from those once thought sufficient. The amount of added fact is incredibly great and important."

The book seemed, then, to its American publishers, so far antiquated that it needed a thorough revision, and the incorporation of the new matter with the original text seemed to them likely to secure a better result than would a system of copious annotation that should constantly contradict the statements of fact or opinion in the body of the work. To quote Mr. Sturgis again:

"This has been done with the single desire to make the book what Dr. Lübke would probably have made it had he been writing in 1902, and in America. . . . Expressions of opinion have been modified in one case and left unchanged in another; the attempt having been always not to substitute the present writer's views for those of the German author, but to modify the thought of the original as would seem inevitable in view of the discoveries and the critical studies of the last forty years."

Two typical instances are specified. Dr. Lübke's admiration for the Carracci and his lukewarmness to Correggio might conceivably be the same to-day, and consequently their expression is left unaltered; his conception of the reasons for the differences between Greek and Indian art could but be modified by our present knowledge of the Oriental mind, and therefore this part of the book is recast.

Any system of revision that could be adopted has its advantages and its drawbacks. That which has been adopted gives us a continuous and readable text which should be much more useful from the correction of outgrown errors, but it has the disadvantage of leaving us constantly in doubt whether we are listening to the nineteenth century or the twentieth, to the German doctor or the American architect. Without an elaborate comparison of editions, which few will have the opportunity

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or the patience to make, it is impossible to tell what is Lübke and what is Sturgis, or which opinions are the best attainable and which are merely still tenable. Perhaps no one was better fitted for the difficult and ungrateful task which it has been attempted to perform than Mr. Sturgis, but we could find it in our heart to wish that he had either given us an accurate translation of Lübke's last authorized edition, with his own comments in the form of notes or appendices, or had frankly recast the whole, so that nothing might remain which should not represent the best critical judgment of our own day, if not precisely the personal opinion of the editor. The first procedure would have given us Lübke together with the necessary caution against his errors; the second would have given us a wholly modern book. What we have is neither quite flesh nor altogether fowl.

The edition of Lübke with which the reviewer has been most readily able to compare the present one is that published in London by Smith, Elder & Co. in 1868, the translation being by F. E. Bunnett. The most conspicuous difference in the two is in the considerably greater bulk of the new edition, as it contains nearly a quarter again as many pages as the older one; the exact figures being 1,145 pages, against 922. Of the 223 added pages, seventy are given to the last chapter, on "Art in the Nineteenth Century," and forty-eight to the first two books on the "Ancient Art of the East" and "Classical Art," and it is reasonable to suppose that it is in these parts of the work that the greater number of changes and additions have been made, either by Lübke himself in his later editions, or by the present editor. There are, however, changes or additions throughout as far as we have examined. Sometimes they are made in a rather awkward way, as where the first mentioned of the Correggios in the Dresden Gallery is "a most tender and charming little picture of a Magdalen (the authenticity of which has, however, been recently denied)," or where two pictures are mentioned as characteristic of Giorgione and described with some care, only to be dismissed with the statements that "this has recently been denied to be the work of this master" and that "this picture is with justice, however, now no longer credited to Giorgione." In spite of some expansion, the section on Japanese art seems to us to be still singularly inadequate. An important transposition places Nicolò Pisano, Cimabue, and Duccio where they belong, in the "Gothic" rather than in the "Romanesque" period.

The increased bulk of the new volumes is partly due to the addition of some illustrations in the text from various sources, but of the same general style and quality as the old ones, and partly to the inclusion of a hundred-odd full-page plates. Modern methods of illustration differ from those in use in 1860 even more than modern criticism and connoisseurship differ from those which then prevailed, and the contrast between these new half-tone reproductions from photographs and the old woodcuts is startling. In some half-dozen instances the plates duplicate, in subject, the woodcuts, and it would have been cleverer in these cases to leave out the old cuts—they only serve to throw doubt on all their companions by the shocking discrepancies they display when compared with the plates. One has only to glance at the two versions of, say, Michelangelo's "Creation of Man," Giorgione's "The Concert," Holbein's "Meyer Madonna," Rembrandt's "Syndics," or Troyon's "Oxen Going to Work" to be astonished at what used to pass muster as an illustration of a great work of art.

These are all reproductions of paintings, and it might be thought that sculpture and architecture would suffer less by the woodcutter's translation. Certainly these arts are more adapted to expression in line, and, in the case of architecture, the linear treatment would have an advantage in its greater clearness if only one could trust its accuracy. To be convinced that the sculpture is little better treated than the painting, however, one has only to compare the old and new cuts of Michelangelo's "Moses"; while that the old manner of illustrating architecture left something to be desired, may perhaps be gathered from the fact that more than half of the new plates are devoted to architectural subjects. To be sure, this may have arisen from the editor's special interest in the art he has himself practised, but if the old illustrations had been more satisfactory, one imagines that so many new ones would not have been needed. It is especially in its illustrations that we regret that the book could not have been thoroughly modernized.

Opposite each of the full-page plates is a note printed on the tissue paper guard, and these notes are the only parts of the book that are quite certainly by Mr. Sturgis. They are so conspicuous that any errors they may contain are the more likely to attract attention, and it is in them that we have noticed some of those slips of the pen or the types that are sure to occur in such a work; and we note a couple only that they may be corrected if opportunity offers. Donatello's "St. George" is attributed in the note to Verrocchio, though the legend under the plate gives the correct attribution; and the Darmstadt version of the "Meyer Madonna" is spoken of as a "duplicate or early copy," though the text states, what is the general opinion, that this picture is the original, that in Dresden being somewhat inferior to it. In the present state of criticism it is surely rather daring to describe "The Concert" in the Pitti as "undoubtedly by Giorgione."

Each volume has, besides the half-tone plates and woodcuts, a frontispiece lithographed in colors. They are both from architectural restorations in the Metropolitan Museum; that of the first volume representing the temple of Karnak, and that of the second the Parthenon. We confess to some curiosity as to the meaning and origin of the extraordinary design stamped on the back of the cover.

Everything considered, the book is vastly the better for its partial rejuvenation, and perhaps there is nothing superior of its kind to be had at present, but it is still far from what a general history of art might and should be if undertaken afresh with modern knowledge, modern insight, and modern means of illustration.

The Code of Hammurabi, King of Babylon (about 2250 B. C.). By Robert Francis Harper, Ph.D. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1904. Pp. xv, 192, with one photograph and cili plates.

In the winter of 1901-02 the French archæological expedition to Persia under M. De Morgan found, on the necropolis of Susa, three pieces of a large stele of black diorite, containing a law code of the famous Babylonian King, Hammurabi, the most important discovery in the field of Assyriology since George Smith's publication some thirty years earlier of a fragment of a clay tablet containing the Flood legend. The inscription was published with commendable promptness and in fine form, thanks to the liberality of the French Government, in the Memoirs of the Expedition, in 1902, with beautifully clear photographic reproductions of the text. On the basis of this work, translations, speedily followed in German and in English, as well as numerous articles and booklets discussing the bearings of this code on the history of civilization in the East, and particularly its relation to the law of Moses. The volume before us is more elaborate and more carefully prepared than these earlier publications. It contains an autograph text of the inscription, originally published in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature* in October, 1903, "reconstructed and edited from the photographs published by Scheil" in the memoir referred to above, a transliteration of the same in Roman letters, with a translation on the opposite page, a glossary which notes every occurrence of each given word, with the exception of a few particles, and a very elaborate index of subjects. As appendices, we have lists of all signs used, with their transliteration in two forms, one giving the character actually used and the other the dictionary form of the same character; a list of numerals; and, as justification of certain readings, a "list of scribal errors," showing in one column the sign which actually appears in the inscription and in the other the sign which Professor Harper believes should be read in its place; together with a "list of erasures," where the scribe, perceiving his own error, has erased the sign first written and substituted another. At the close of the volume is a decidedly sketchy map, the mountains on which look as though they had been thrown in haphazard. There is no commentary, and the very brief introduction contains no discussion of the origin, development, or use of this remarkable code. A second volume is promised, by the brother of the editor, President William R. Harper of Chicago University, which will discuss the Code of Hammurabi "in its connection with the Mosaic Code."

In regard to the transliteration, Professor Harper says of his own work that an edition of an Assyrian or Babylonian text which is to be final must go back to the originals. This is undoubtedly so. Nevertheless, the photographs of Father Scheil were so beautifully clear and accurate that Professor Harper has been able to produce from them an autographed text which will presumably need very little emendation to make it perfect. The translation seems to us to leave still much to be desired. It is literal, in the sense that it aims to reproduce the Babylonian word for word, so far as that is consistent with intelligible English, and to translate any given Babylonian term systematically by one and the same English word. This method of translation only makes more clear the fact that there are

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yet many places which are not altogether intelligible, especially in the case of those laws which deal with the privileges and duties of certain classes of public officials. However, in general the meaning of the laws is perfectly clear, and most of the details also.

It is worthy of note that, except in a very few places, as, for instance, at the commencement of the Code (according, at least, to Professor Harper's translation), there is no trace of the arrangement of the laws in any of those systems so common in ancient codes, of pentads, decalogues, or the like. On the other hand, these laws are codified by subjects more systematically than is usually the case even in codes much less ancient. The laws, approximately 280 in number, are all case laws, introduced by the word "if" or "in case" (*summa*), what in the phraseology of old Hebrew legislation were called "judgments." Both this outward form, and also the contents of the laws, which reveal a high condition of social and economical development, make it clear that, in spite of the fact that this is by many centuries the oldest code of laws heretofore discovered in any country, there nevertheless existed before the time of Hammurabi a long line of legal precedents, and presumably a number of different codes of jurisprudence. The work done by Hammurabi in formulating this code was evidently very similar to that done by King Alfred in England in his famous "dooms." He gathered together the various dooms or judgments sanctioned by the kings of various cities, and out of these formed a body of laws for his entire empire. This code of laws was an important factor in that unification of a Babylonian empire which took place under his reign; and an incidental reference to "the laws of Aleppo" in the prologue suggests that the influence of his legislation, as of his empire, extended beyond the limits of Babylonia. Since Professor Harper's work was put in print, the interesting suggestion has been made that a clause near the end of that prologue (i-na pî ma-tim; literally, "in the mouth of the country"), means that, contrary, probably, to earlier use, these laws were published "in the language of the people," that they might be understood by all, and not by the priests or lawyers only. We would suggest, as a variant of this proposition, that the phrase may mean that they were now published, whereas they had been hitherto preserved by oral tradition.

The present volume is an admirable foundation for the study of the text of these laws. It is to be hoped that the succeeding volume, by President Harper, will give us a satisfactory analysis of and commentary on their contents, together with a comparison of Hammurabi's laws with the laws of Moses and a discussion of their relation to one another. The mechanical execution of the volume is beautiful—heavy paper, broad spacing, clear type—leaving nothing to be desired.

The Song of Roland. Translated by Isabel Butler.

Beowulf and the Finnesburh Fragment. Translated by Clarence Griffin Child. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. ("The Riverside Literature Series," Nos. 157 and 159).

There is much worse summer reading than the mediæval epics, 'Beowulf' and 'Roland,' which are now to be had by school children and discerning grown-ups in the inexpensive "Riverside Literature Series." These two heroic poems make an excellent brace if only for their contrasts, corresponding to the deepest sentiments of the two stocks in which they were sung. The 'Roland' is all clarity, reasoned patriotism, and religious certitude. The reader moves in a world of great affairs conducted by emperors and bishops, menaced only by paynims who are generally beaten, and traitors who are condignly punished. Everything in the great poem is social and national. Tallifer most appropriately sung it as he rode at the Hastings palisade. The 'Beowulf,' on the contrary, is all mystery, personal punctilio, and religious ambiguity. Its world is one of morasses inhabited by the brood of Cain, of dragons' treasure, of chieftains mysteriously afflicted by supernatural visitants. The sentiments are tribal, not national, and no lesson is taught except that of personal fortitude before the sad exigencies of a hero's life. Compare Roland with his face towards Spain offering his glove to God, and Beowulf dying beside the dragon's hoard and predicting the downfall of the Geats. Such reflections may be a little serious for summer time, but they go far to explain the national differences of the two Powers that have recently struck hands—the highly organized valor of the Frenchman, the more melancholy *Innigkeit* of the Englishman.

To return to the two booklets before us, these prose translations are meritorious additions to the handy series which the Boston house provides for schools and general readers. Miss Butler has caught something of the march of the 'Roland' in her prose, and since any reproduction of the assonantal *laisses* of the original is impossible in English, and any other metrical form a misrepresentation, it is certain that she has chosen the proper medium. In her introduction she tells all that the average reader needs to know about the growth of the Roland legend; an illustration of a page of the unique jongleur's copy of the 'Roland,' and several reproductions from the Bayeux tapestry and other mediæval sources go to complete a very workmanlike little book.

Mr. Child has had a far more difficult task in translating 'Beowulf.' Indeed, every new attempt confirms in your reviewer an old opinion that this poem is untranslatable in modern English. The heavy, oscillatory movement of the alliterative verse is repellent when transferred to prose, and very difficult to suggest in modern alliterative verse. Hall, perhaps, has done it best. But Professor Child has at least had the considerateness to respect his readers, and his version is as free from the jargon that offset sadly Earle's general spiritedness as from the pedantries that make Morris and Wyatt's fairly unreadable. Professor Child's English, which in the main sins on the side of literalness, can be read with some degree of pleasure; but it is terribly matter-of-fact, and certainly emphasizes the author's belief that we must perfect a form of verse which shall rock without halting—in short, the alliterative staves that Garnett, Hall, and others have tried with varying success.

A brief synopsis of the Beowulf question can hardly be made interesting, and Professor Child would have done better to crowd all this preliminary matter into the briefest form, to be digested by readers of the chalkenteric sort, and so give himself elbow-room for a leisurely presentation. Typographical bad luck has befallen the footnote on p. vi.; the Anglo-Saxon specimen on p. xxii. has the half-line pause unduly exaggerated by the spaces, whereas that pause is completely ignored in setting the accompanying metrical translation.

The Memoirs of Rufus Putnam, and Certain Official Papers and Correspondence. Published by the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the State of Ohio. Completed and Annotated by Miss Rowena Buell, Marietta, O. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1903. Pp. xxxvi, 460.

The works that have already been published under the authority of the Society of Colonial Dames of America lead us to hope that it may authorize the publication of many more in the future. The present volume is valuable and timely. It gives us the best possible portrait of a man of sterling character whose services to his country have not always been as highly appreciated as they deserve, and it makes accessible much valuable material for the study of the history of the Northwest Territory. It is based on the Putnam manuscripts, the Samuel P. Hildreth manuscripts, and the records of the Ohio Company—all in the possession of Marietta College. The journal which Putnam kept intermittently (it was usually very full only when he was engaged in some military campaign or some engineering expedition), occupies about one-third of the book, while the remainder of the volume is devoted to official papers and correspondence referred to in the journal, or necessary to explain the context. There are eleven illustrations, mainly maps and plans prepared by Putnam himself. The manuscripts have been reproduced exactly, including the "spelling and gramer," the study of which, in Putnam's case, was sadly neglected in his youth—a neglect from which he did, indeed, as he naïvely confesses, "suffer much through life." The editor has limited her part to the insertion of occasional notes of reference or explanation. The index is fairly good, though not as full as could be wished, and the plan is the same as that adopted for the Society's 'Correspondence of the Colonial Governors of Rhode Island.'

Putnam's journal is but little concerned about political events, but treats in minute detail the events of the campaigns or expeditions with which the author was connected. After the first few pages of genealogical material, the part played by Putnam in the French wars is recounted. During the seven years from 1765 to 1772 there is no entry. From 1772 until the outbreak of the Revolution, Putnam was engaged in the West Florida expedition, and on his return we learn nothing about the controversy that was passing into war. Fifty pages take us through the war itself, and about thirty more cover the period of Putnam's activity in the Northwest Territory. These papers are therefore valuable chiefly for the military historian. In the

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latter part of the journal, however, there is some useful information in connection with the early history of the Northwest Territory, chiefly with respect to the number and location of particular parties of settlers, relations with the Indians, and the affairs of the Ohio Company.

In spite of "spelling and gramer," the journal makes interesting reading. It is the straightforward expression of a man strong in the elemental virtues of simplicity, honesty, and modesty. Almost the last paragraph is so characteristic of the man and his method that its insertion here may be pardoned. It is in explanation of his dismissal from the office of surveyor-general that Putnam says: "Indeed, I might appeal to my corrispondence with the Secretaries of the Treasury, or even to Mr. Galliten personally, that *no want of ability, integrity,* or *industry* was the cause of my removal from office. *no.* It was don because I did not Subscribe to the Measures of him whom I have called, *Arch* enemy to Washington's Administration. Because I did not die nor resigne" (p. 125). It may be mentioned that his "spelling and gramer" much improves in the course of the journal.

Le Roman Social en Angleterre. Par Louis Cazamian.

Kingsley et Thomas Cooper. Par Louis Cazamian. Paris: Société Nouvelle de Librairie et d'Édition. 1904.

Few people in this country know anything definite about that singular institution, the "Fondation Thiers." Yet the educational project which M. Thiers had at heart and which bears his name, though delayed for nearly twenty years after his death, has been realized since 1893, when the Hôtel du Rond-point Bugeaud was opened for the first five students who were to benefit by the terms of the foundation. M. Thiers was a very busy man, and, like other gifted men who have had little leisure for their favorite studies, or have cherished the conviction that if they had the time they would study, he desired to create an atmosphere in which the minds of a chosen few should be stimulated to produce. He devised the usual stimulus of leisure, the hot-house method which assumes that if you eliminate all possible friction the creative imagination, that delicate plant, will forthwith bloom and thrive. He had no international aims, like Cecil Rhodes; the foundation is strictly reserved to Frenchmen. Every year the five most distinguished graduates in the faculties are chosen by a committee of members of the Institute, are placed in a luxurious and sequestered hotel, are allowed a fair sum for pocket money, and for three years are maintained in learned leisure, about $2,000 annually being devoted to the expenses of each one of the fortunate fifteen. There are no duties, no direction, no limitations; and if leisure were all, the *fine fleur* of the University of Paris would seem to be deprived of all excuse for mute inglorious-ness. Moreover, the "Bibliothèque de la Fondation Thiers" has been established for defraying the expense of the publications that are to be the fruit of this retirement. As a matter of fact, though the foundation was not, we believe, originally intended to smooth the path to the doctorate, the "pensionnaires" seem to devote their three years, or a part of them, to the attainment of the Docteur-ès-lettres.

We have before us two theses for the doctor's degree by a "pensionnaire," both in French—for the University of Paris not long since resolved not to exact the Latin thesis once indispensable to the highest French degree; the form of two separate dissertations is maintained. 'Le Roman Social' is a volume of 575 pages, to which the second dissertation of 65 pages, 'Kingsley et Thomas Cooper,' is a sort of footnote. In his main dissertation M. Cazamian traces the influence on the political philosophy and legislation of England from 1830 to 1850 of the "novel with a purpose." Dickens, Disraeli, Mrs. Gaskell and Kingsley were the chief writers whose novels contributed to the sentimental reaction against the utilitarian system of Bentham. Of that system Disraeli's 'Coningsby' could say in 1844: "It has passed through the heaven of philosophy like a hailstorm, cold, noisy, sharp, and peppering, and it has melted away." The social remorse of England awoke none too soon. The Chartists had indeed failed, the strikers had failed on every side in those years of cruel indifference to industrial life when the English, having developed a new type of population in their mines and factories, had not yet realized that they must protect it with new laws. But meanwhile the tide of industrial misery rose, labor learned how to organize, and England too might have had her revolution, following on mere riots, in the early forties. But it is the good fortune of England, the practical, that she is always capable of a profound idealistic reaction. Altruism, æsthetic morality, religion, the sympathetic imagination, may for a time be obscured by the spirit of commercialism as they were obscured in the years that bred the Chartists. But in the end the visionary and the humanitarian triumph over the utilitarian and the theorist. The part played by the novels of Dickens in the reaction to intervention is carefully defined by M. Cazamian. Dickens knew little about industrial conditions; the hardships of the lower middle class, the class exposed to the debtor's prison, or the Yorkshire school, claimed his sympathy because he knew them best. Disraeli stands for the aristocratic movement in favor of charitable intervention. In his recent study of Lord Beaconsfield, Mr. Bryce speaks of 'Coningsby' and 'Sybil' as "political manifestoes," but does not discuss Disraeli's position as the foe of the utilitarianism and rationalism of the thirties. Disraeli may not have been wholly sincere when he took the same side as Dickens and Carlyle and faced the same adversaries. But if he lacked sentiment, he did not lack imagination; he saw the danger that threatened England, and when, in 'Sybil,' he wrote with eloquence of the wrongs of the industrial class, he had not forgotten the persecutions of his own race. 'Coningsby,' 'Sybil,' and 'Tancred' are a trilogy devoted to the exposition of the social gospel of the Young England Tory party. The reconciliation of the commercial and landowning classes, the patching up of the quarrel between the factory and the manor, was Disraeli's aim. Like Carlyle, he saw the significance of the industrial revolution. "The age of ruins is past," says a character in 'Coningsby.' "Have you seen Manchester?" The sentimental socialism of Dickens, the social Tory reaction of Disraeli, the Christian socialism of Kingsley, proceeded from very different conceptions of the cure that must be applied to the social conditions of early Victorian England.

The aim of M. Cazamian was to differentiate the motives and the ideals of the Victorian novelists up to 1850, when the cloud lifted. His studies in the economic literature and fiction of his period have been extremely thorough; he is a very accurate writer, and has fully maintained his thesis, which is naturally not new, that the novel with a purpose did more to rouse public opinion and to bring about industrial reforms than all the Parliamentary commissions and Blue Books on the subject. In 'Kingsley et Thomas Cooper' M. Cazamian proves by extracts from Kingsley's correspondence with Cooper the Chartist, and from parallels of Cooper's life with that of the hero of 'Alton Locke,' that Kingsley had Cooper in mind when he drew his Chartist reformer. The point was worth a footnote, but not a dissertation.

The study of English at the Sorbonne and the University of Paris is notoriously inadequate. M. Cazamian can have received little encouragement to pursue his studies in the English novel and the social conditions that produced it. His bibliographies are thorough, and as a whole the dissertation reaches the standard of the better sort of American or German literary thesis, which contributes nothing new, but analyzes and accounts for works whose place is already well defined. It is unfortunate, however, for the prestige of the French degree, or of any higher degree, that it should be bestowed for dissertations which in themselves are no guarantee of severe studies. Evidently, in France as well as in America and in Germany, there is danger that the doctor's degree may degenerate into a mere certificate of two or three years of graduate work, and so become quantitative where it should be qualitative. The work of M. Cazamian should not be dignified with the name "research," for a layman might have produced it. The hard-worked "founder of the French Republic," when he dreamed of the "Fondation Thiers," had in mind, we imagine, a severity of standard, an austerity of scholarly ambition, not to be satisfied with 600 pages of description of the early Victorian novel.

Ruskin in Oxford, and Other Studies. By G. W. Kitchin. E. P. Dutton & Co.

By his many solid contributions to scholarship the Dean of Durham has earned the right to occupy the leisure of his eighth decade with less strenuous tasks. In the above work he offers us, in his own words, "desultory pages" which are merely the work of his "holiday times." This little collection of studies—biographical, historical, literary, theological, and antiquarian—provokes once more the question: Is not the gleaning of the grapes of Ephraim better than the vintage of Abiezer? The Ruskin paper opens attractively at Dean Liddell's dinner table, with Gladstone and Selborne discussing the abolition of the privileges of the gentleman-commoner; a debate in which Gladstone, as might have been expected, took the conservative side. This incident leads naturally to a speculation as to what kind of Ruskin we should have had if the vintner's son had never worn velvet and silk, but had been com-

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pelled to hold his own in the common life of his college. Dr. Kitchin went up to Christ Church only five years after the close of Ruskin's Oxford days, and is therefore able, from his own reminiscences, to reconstruct the environment of the time—Gaisford, Osborne Gordon, Buckland (the geologist), Liddell, and Henry Acland, to name the contemporary personal influences only. The author of this volume was still in residence when Ruskin returned as Slade professor in 1869, and again in 1883. There is much good reading in Dr. Kitchin's memories of this period. We learn, for example, how Ruskin hopelessly ruined some of the most exquisitely illuminated of his missals by cutting leaves out of them to serve as illustrations of his points. Another story is of a lecture on "Birds," in the course of which he made the Oxford musicians furious by a digression protesting against the degradation of the psalm, "Oh! for the wings," as he had heard it lately in a college chapel linked to the frivolous prettiness of Mendelssohn's setting. Suddenly, in the midst of his denunciation, he "began to dance and recite, with the strangest flappings of his M.A. gown, and the oddest look on his excited face." Another sample of what was locally called his inspired nonsense was his description of how a hairbrush by incessant rotation evolved itself in the course of æons into a swallow. Dr. Kitchin evidently shares to a great extent Ruskin's depressing judgment as to the mischief wrought by recent changes upon the charm of Oxford. This pessimism is somewhat surprising in one who has seen such excellent results from his own contributions to the liberalizing process—at the Non-Collegiate Delegacy, for example.

The transition is abrupt to the next paper, which describes that disappearing race, the "statesmen," or yeoman farmers, of West Cumberland. Incidentally, Dr. Kitchin makes a keen thrust at a recent exhibition of popular weakness. Quoting from an old account of the dignified thankfulness with which the people of the dales received the news of the battle of Waterloo, he adds the quiet comment: "Men had more ballast then; and it was only Waterloo, not Mafeking." The temptation is great to extract notable stories and reflections from the remaining papers. Their subjects cover a wide ground, including Whitby Abbey, a study of Celtic and Latin Monasticism; Durham College, a glimpse of mediæval Oxford; the Statutes of Durham Cathedral; the North in the Fifteenth Century, an account of the visit of Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini (afterwards Pius II.); a discussion of the reason of Dante's choice of Virgil as his guide in the lower world; an inquiry into the cause of the burial of Slavonian sailors in a Hampshire church; an archæological investigation of the font in Winchester Cathedral, and an address at the unveiling of a memorial to Bishop Butler at Durham. It must suffice to say that in all the diversity of topics there is a unity of interest—the catholic spirit and scholarly taste of the author himself, in whom learning and discretion, literary skill and human sympathy, so delightfully combine.

A Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian, with a Collection of Inscriptions and a Glossary. By Carl Darling Buck. Boston: Ginn & Co. 1904.

It has always been held, and rightly so, that no Latinist, be he professional or amateur, can properly comprehend his own subject without a fairly equivalent understanding of Greek. A quarter of a century ago the additional necessity of a more or less comfortable acquaintance also with Sanskrit was generally insisted upon. The zealous activity of the younger comparative philologists of Germany had communicated itself across the water to America by means of the American students of the classics who had been "made in Germany." Roman history and literature and antiquities had to be studied in a sort of shamefaced way through the lens of phonology and thereafter of syntax. Some enthusiasts went so far as to prescribe liberal doses of Sanskrit for quelling all the ills that were beginning to attack the previously sturdy body of classical education. The dulcet enervation of natural science was to be corrected by the exhilarating stimulus of vrddhi and jihvāmūlīya-spirants.

But the predicted conquests of Sanskrit in the field of general classical education have not been carried out. That language has apparently fallen back from the fighting line. It is now regarded rather as a part of the equipment of the specialist in the purely linguistic field. The principle of comparative study has been welcomed and adopted, but the absurd claim that every Latinist must be a comparative philologist has been properly abandoned. Yet every student of Latin literature must first of all have a thorough acquaintance with the Latin language, even though he may not carry his investigations so far afield as the very cradle of the Aryan race; and upon the Latin language the study of the kindred dialects of ancient Italy often casts a remarkably vivid illumination. Even the schoolboy, who regards as an additional grievance the existence of an antique Latin genitive in -as, and the persistently asserted, but apparently meaningless, identification of a genitive in -ae with a ghostly locative, may find a trifling consolation in the inspection of the regular Oscan forms for these cases; while for the ordinary Latinist the study of Oscan and Umbrian may to great advantage take the place that Sanskrit tried to fill. It is, indeed, only political chance (if it be right to describe as chance the inexorable workings of human character) that has made the world use Latin rather than Oscan.

Up to this time the elaborate and expensive works of Von Planta, and later of Conway, have been the most available means of introduction to the study of Oscan and Umbrian. But what the student needed is precisely what Professor Buck has now furnished him, a thoroughly scientific and at the same time eminently clear and interesting and readable exhibit of the grammar of the two dialects, with constant comparison of Latin forms, and of those to be found in the lesser dialects of the Italic group. The arrangement of the book on the familiar model of a Latin grammar adds much to its practical convenience, and the well-annotated selection of the most important inscriptional remains of the dialects is much better for the elementary student's use than anything that has yet appeared. We should have welcomed, indeed, the printing of the inscriptions in their native alphabets (in so far as the originals appeared thus) instead of merely in transliteration. Oscan and Umbrian stand on a very different basis in this respect from Sanskrit, the individual letters of which number half a hundred, and are so curiously modified and linked together in actual writing. The learning of the Oscan-Umbrian alphabets is, on the other hand, the matter of an hour's application, and adds much to the interest and value of the study of the dialects themselves. The four plates that Mr. Buck gives in facsimile do not afford sufficient practice, and of these the three illustrations on Plate I. are useful only as indicating the shape of the material on which the inscriptions are cut or painted, for the inscriptions themselves are illegible.

The book will be of interest to more than one class of persons besides professed students of philology. The merely curious acquirer of information (and we hope the specialization of the present day has not scoffed him out of existence) will now find it possible in a few hours' time to gain a fair general knowledge of the difference in tongue between the sturdy Samnite and his more fortunate Roman conqueror. The student of Italic antiquities will be tempted to study at first hand the transactions of the Atiedian priesthood, the Iovilae offerings, and the dire Curse of Vibia. The reader of Horace mayhap will be pleased to picture to himself Bantia as something else than a region of forest-glades. Even the prospective, or past, visitor to Pompeii may readily learn to interpret those non-Latin inscriptions that confront him there, of which he could otherwise tell only that they are recorded in a curious angular cryptogram.

The detailed discussion of Mr. Buck's work will naturally find its place in more technical journals; meanwhile we welcome it cordially as one of the most valuable, important, and significant contributions made by American scholarship to the old learning, which is ever new.

Desiderius Erasmus concerning the Aim and Method of Education. By William Harrison Woodward. Cambridge (Eng.): University Press; New York: Macmillan. 1904.

If there was a sincere side to Erasmus of Rotterdam, it was certainly displayed in his attitude toward the subject of education. He refers in many of his writings to this primary condition of a revived and enlarged culture, and devotes to it two special treatises of considerable length. It is, however, lamentably true, as Mr. Woodward remarks in his preface, that the biographers have allowed his services in this direction to be obscured by what they have regarded as his larger interests, notably by all that concerns his relation to the reformation of religion. It is, therefore, a significant service that Mr. Woodward has here rendered by bringing together in this little volume the most important indications he has been able to gather from Erasmus's own writings of his educational aims and methods.

Beginning with a brief sketch of Erasmus's life, the author shows that he has made a careful study of the biographies, and that he is guided by the latest and most critical. He realizes fully that Erasmus's account of his own early years must be

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taken with the largest allowances, and estimated, not so much by what the man says directly about himself, as by the obvious implications of facts. He drops entirely the old notion that Erasmus was a victim of monkish persecution, and accepts fully the view that the ten years spent at Steyn were years of fruitful intellectual work and of stimulating companionship. At the same time we are reminded that the habit of mind then acquired may account for many of the restraints and limitations of Erasmus's later life. The characterization of the great humanist given here in a few pages is more discriminating and more just than most of the biographers have given us in their volumes. Nowhere have we seen better expressed than here (p. 35) the essentially unhistorical character of Erasmus's mind. Antiquity was to him "not merely a past"; it was "an ideal to be defended or to be criticised." In his thought of the classic civilization as a something universal that might be applied to modern conditions, a kind of universal solvent by which all these conditions would be set free to fall into their true relations again, he always overlooked the hard fact of nationality. The Middle Ages had gone to pieces on this rock of universalism, and not even Erasmus was great enough to escape from its attraction. Hence, we may believe, his indifference to politics, his horror of national warfare, his neglect of modern languages; and hence also his exclusive emphasis upon classical studies as the essential basis of a liberal education. On the other hand, it is precisely this note of universality that gives elevation and permanent value to Erasmus's educational ideals.

In regard to method, nothing could be further from a "system" than what is here laid down. Education stands, to Erasmus, for the harmonious development of the whole man from the earliest moment of conscious existence—and before. His detailed suggestions are only aids to the carrying out of this central thought. Mr. Woodward emphasizes especially what we are apt to call the "modern" notion of interesting the boy instead of trying to force him by mere compulsion; but it will be observed that Erasmus does not say, "Make the boy study only what he likes," but, "So teach him that he will like what he studies." His ideal of the teacher is almost too lofty. It suggests a man who, like Erasmus himself, would probably cordially hate the drudgery of teaching. So far as we have here principles of instruction, they are based upon plain common sense. Speech comes before reading, and writing follows. The text to be read must be explained in such a way that the boy will comprehend and be interested in what he reads, while at the same time he gains command of the medium through which his thought is to be expressed.

The last third of the volume is taken up by translations from the two most important Erasmian treatises on education: *De ratione studii* and *De pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis*, together with one chapter from *De conscribendis epistolis* and a selection from the colloquy, *Convivium Religiosum*. These might rather be called paraphrases than translations, since Mr. Woodward has allowed himself large liberties of omission and occasionally of insertion. He justifies this by stating that he does it to avoid "Erasmian redundancy of illustration," but it has the effect of depriving his version of much of the true Erasmian flavor. The scholar can, however, if he will, make his own corrections, following the careful references to the columns of the Leyden edition which accompany each paragraph. The volume as a whole is a welcome addition to the literature of Erasmus which recent years have brought us.

Laws of New Hampshire, Including Public and Private Acts and Resolves and the Royal Commissions and Institutions. With Historical and Descriptive Notes and an Appendix. Edited by Albert Stillman Batcheller. Volume I., Province Period. Manchester, N. H.: The John B. Clarke Co. 1904. Pp. 914.

We have here a volume of State papers prepared in continuance of the policy, begun by New Hampshire in 1867, of collecting and printing documents of various descriptions pertaining to her early history. Some of this material has already appeared in earlier volumes of the New Hampshire State Papers; other papers are transcripts from the English archives. The purpose has been to get together in one collection all the laws and ordinances of the Province Period (1679-1702), and it seems as if this purpose had been accomplished. The volume is bulky enough. Its size proceeds partly from the fact that the editor has conceived it to be his duty to insert many pages of historical memoranda from the writings of Jenness, Tuttle, Hoyt, and other local writers who have discoursed upon the topic of New Hampshire's settlements and of the first years of her existence. The editor has done his work well, though perhaps a little too heavily. Some of the longer notes might have been condensed to advantage.

We are not greatly impressed, however, with Mr. Batcheller's faculty of historical narration. His style is labored and diffuse. He writes as one who is content to follow in the footsteps of historians of an elder day. He accepts the Puritan view without question; and this, too, when the distinctively New Hampshire writers of a later time, after an exhaustive study, have found themselves at variance with Winthrop, Belknap, and Palfry and that school. We have space for but a single illustration. In treating of the genesis of the union between the New Hampshire towns and the Massachusetts Bay Colony, in 1642, the editor observes:

"Despite the fact that the course of the towns in adopting the 'Combinations' showed a creditable respect for law, it was found difficult to preserve order among the people. This is not surprising when we recall that such adventurers as Burdett, Larkham, and Underhill were among their chosen rulers. As the towns were a frontier region, exposed to the hostilities of the French and Indians, whose most active spirits were licentious clergymen exiled from Massachusetts Bay, it was a most natural course to seek a political union, under favorable terms, with the strong contiguous Puritan colony" (Introduction, p. xxx.).

One discovers here no hint that full reliance cannot be put in the charges freely and harshly laid against some of the clergy of that period by the Massachusetts authorities, and gravely believed by Massachusetts writers of history. Nor is there a suggestion that the alleged spontaneity of the movement for a union may possibly be questioned. Nothing is said as to the complaint, entered by some of the inhabitants of the towns, that the Bay people came where they were not wanted.

In a work of this character, officially put forth by the State, it might perhaps be well either to leave out an historical sketch involving facts that are the subject of controversy as not necessary; or else to state briefly the two views entertained by writers on the subject—and there stop. But we are none the less happy to be able to praise Mr. Batcheller for the fidelity with which he has accomplished a formidable task. The print is good; the proof-reading evidently has been scrupulously attended to. There is an index of subjects as well as of names. The enterprise certainly brings credit to the State of New Hampshire. The written laws of a free people reflect much of that people's character; they form an authentic source of history; and this volume is a storehouse of material for the publication of which the student of American history may well feel thankful.

The Evolution of Modern Liberty. By George L. Scherger. Longmans, Green & Co. 1904.

Evolution is so elastic, not to say vague, a term as to apply to almost any view that may be taken of a subject. Were it otherwise, we should be inclined to call the title of this book misleading. We might reasonably expect to find here some account of the development of the principal rights enjoyed by the citizens of modern States, and we certainly should not expect to end our survey with the beginning of the French Revolution. It seems strange, too, to find in a treatise on the evolution of liberty no mention of the protection afforded by the writ of habeas corpus, or of the principles involved in Wilkes's case. Indeed, so far as we have observed, none of the great constitutional decisions of the English judges is so much as mentioned.

What is really done by Prof. Scherger is to give the views of numerous writers, ancient and modern, on the theories or doctrines of natural law and popular sovereignty. It was his original intention to consider the relation between the principles stated by the French Constituent Assembly in the "Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen," and those expressed in the American bills of rights. On this subject there has been some controversy between Professor Jellinek and M. Boutmy; the former regarding the Declaration as a literal transcript of American statements, the latter maintaining it to be a purely French production, attributable to the influence of Rousseau. The truth, as Prof. Scherger shows, lies between these views. The evidence is abundant that French philosophers and statesmen had been deeply interested in the course of events which culminated in American independence, and were familiar with the "declarations" of American patriots. The debates in the Constituent Assembly on the Declaration of Rights show this familiarity, and Lafayette explicitly maintained that only since the American Revolution had the necessity of defining the fundamental rights of man appeared, and that the example then set should be follow-

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ed by France. But, while the formal enunciation of these rights in the American colonies was a conspicuous event, the French statesmen were not ignorant of the sources from which James Otis and Samuel Adams drew their inspiration. Our forefathers were well read in the doctrines of natural law and popular government as set forth by Sidney, Milton, and Locke, and did no more than embody their reasonings in formal declarations. With these reasonings the French statesmen were as well acquainted. They had watched with interest and with envy the successful struggles of the English against the arbitrary powers claimed by their rulers, and they were disposed to follow English rather than American precedents. On this point, the fact that they meant to establish, not a republic, but a constitutional monarchy, seems to be conclusive.

In his examination of the sources from which these political theories were derived, Professor Scherger goes over ground that has often been traversed, although perhaps never more thoroughly. He takes up one writer after another, and gives a summary of his opinions, as if he were writing articles for a dictionary of philosophy. He scarcely attempts to trace the influence of these political theories on positive institutions, unless in the case of the early settlers of New England. A great part of the work is devoted to the doctrine of natural rights; but more is to be learned from the brilliant generalizations of such a writer as Sir Henry Maine than from lists of books in which certain opinions are advanced. We must commend the industry which has epitomized many treatises now almost sunken into oblivion, and which show us how ancient is the justification of "modern liberty." To read such a catalogue, however, is tiresome, and we must describe the treatise as valuable chiefly as a bibliography.

Like numberless other writers, Professor Scherger assures us that individual liberty was not recognized in the ancient state. The more we learn of the institutions of early times, the more clearly we see that the rights of individuals, implied in customs, must always have existed. Nor is evidence lacking that in theory the absolute right of rulers was denied. The "Antigone" of Sophocles contains the whole truth concerning liberty, ancient or modern; the truth that what may be called indifferently the law of God, or natural law, or the supremacy of conscience, or the right of private judgment, is above the power of government. Rulers may be able to excommunicate, to exile, to torture, to put to death subjects who refuse to obey their commands. That is what we mean by the sovereignty of the State. But when men are commanded to do what they think is wrong, the best of them, ancients or moderns, have replied that they must do what they think is right, and governments have usually been wise enough to give a tacit recognition to this principle.

Explicit and formal recognitions have not, perhaps, quite the importance attributed to them by this author; we know what happened after the French Declaration. It is when the principle animates the institutions of a people that liberty is secure. Yet formal statements keep high ideals before a people, and may thus stimulate the love of freedom. However this may be, we must commend the generous feeling displayed by Professor Scherger in his defence of the rights of the individual, as well as the scholarship which has made his research so exhaustive. It is much to be desired that young men should interest themselves in the irrepressible conflict between freedom and authority, and they will find this book not only valuable for historical reference, but also stimulating to the moral sense. The bibliography with which it is supplied is, so far as foreign writers are concerned, particularly full; but it would be improved by references to some English law books and judicial opinions.

The Stock Exchange. By Godefroi D. Ingall and George Withers. London: Edward Arnold; New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 1904.

Here is a perfectly clear and intelligible account of the methods of doing business on the London Stock Exchange, and of the meaning of the technical terms in daily use among its members, some of which from time to time find their way into our newspapers. In two essential features the Stock Exchange business of London differs from that of New York. In the first place the great mass of transactions in London, instead of being cleared and settled the following day, as with us, run on until the next "account." There are two accounts, one about the middle and the other at the end of each month, so that a couple of weeks often elapse between the initiation and the completion of a bargain. In the second place, the London Stock Exchange is composed of two classes of members, the brokers and the jobbers, while with us there is no such distinction. This English differentiation is precisely analogous to their division of the legal fraternity into solicitors and barristers, and in either case it is difficult for the unprejudiced mind to see any advantage in the more complicated system. In London the broker takes orders from his clients, but, instead of buying or selling in the open market, as New York brokers do, he has to go to a jobber, who stands ready to buy at one price or sell at another; these prices being generally from a quarter to a half per cent. apart. It would be difficult to show that the client fares any better under this system than by the American method. On the contrary, inasmuch as the jobber is committed to buy or sell only a very moderate amount of stock at the figures he names, it would appear probable that the open-market plan would result in closer trading, particularly if the amount to be dealt in was considerable.

But, whatever view may be taken of this peculiarity of London dealing, there is scarcely any room for doubt that in regard to the other essential difference the American system is the better and safer one. Very serious fluctuations in prices may and often do occur in a single day, but the resulting losses can be kept within bounds if all transactions are settled within twenty-four hours, and if the margins on all loans are adjusted to the new conditions in the same period; whereas if all transactions and loans are "hung up" for a fortnight, there is an obvious and most undesirable increase of risk to both brokers and money-lenders. Without offering any serious argument in support of their position Messrs. Ingall and Withers take the opposite view, apparently on the ground that daily settlements "tend to make the Wall Street market exceedingly sensitive." A long acquaintance with Wall Street leads us to the conclusion that fortnightly settlements would make that interesting locality even more sensitive than Messrs. Ingall and Withers suppose it to be. But they supply a better argument on another page, where they refer to the "alarming fashion in which one [London] Stock Exchange failure in these days promptly involves two or three other firms." In fact, it is a case where the proof of the pudding is in the eating, and there are certainly more failures on the London than on the New York Exchange.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Anderson, J. Redwood. The Music of Death. Clifton, England: J. Baker & Son. 2s. net.
Atherton, Gertrude Franklin. The Conqueror. Popular edition. The Macmillan Co. 25 cents.
Ballard, Adolphus. The Domesday Boroughs. Oxford: The Clarendon Press; New York: Henry Frowde. 6s. 6d. net.
Baldwin, Simeon F. American Railroad Law. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.
Rendle, Alfred Barton. The Classification of Flowering Plants. Vol. I—Gymnosperms and Monocotyledons. (Cambridge Biological Series.) Cambridge: The University Press; New York: The Macmillan Co. $3.50.
Bicknell, Edward. The Territorial Acquisitions of the United States, 1787-1904. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co.
Boniface, John J. Manual for Non-Commissioned Cavalry Officers. Kansas City, Mo.: Hudson-Kimberly Pub. Co.
Cody, W. F. The Adventures of Buffalo Bill. Harper & Brothers. 60 cents.
Cohn, Toby. Electro-Diagnosis and Electro-Therapeutics. Translated from the German by Francis A. Scratchley. Funk & Wagnalls Co. $2.
Cooley, Julia. The Poems of a Child. Introduction by Richard Le Gallienne. Harper & Brothers. $1 net.
Cornelii Taciti Opera Minora. Edited by Morris Hicky Morgan. Boston: D. B. Updike (The Merrymount Press). Folio, $15 net.
Deeping, Warwick. Love among the Ruins. The Macmillan Co. $1.50.
Duff, H. L. Nyasaland under the Foreign Office. London: George Bell & Sons; New York: The Macmillan Co. $5.
Early Western Travels—1748-1846. Vol. III.—André Michaux's Travels into Kentucky, 1793-96; François André Michaux's Travels West of Alleghany Mountains, 1802; Thaddeus Mason Harris's Journal of a Tour Northwest of Alleghany Mountains, 1803. Cleveland, O.: The Arthur H. Clark Co. $4.
Emerson's Works. Centenary Edition. Vol. VIII.—Letters and Social Aims. Vol. IX.—Poems. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.75 per vol.
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